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Leadership at Odds Over Transferred Tank Forces

PM1004140391 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 12, 24 Mar 91 p 13

[Dmitriy Yakushkin article: "What Is the Value of Trust?"]

[Text] The affair of the Soviet tanks transferred beyond the Urals in contravention of the spirit of the agreement to reduce conventional arms signed in Paris last fall continues to develop according to an unfavorable scenario. Now that the war in the Near East has ended, this problem again has come to occupy center stage in Soviet-American relations.

In any event the American side links the progress of work on subsequent disarmament agreements with it. It is making it plain that its agreement to come to a summit meeting—which objectively speaking is now more necessary to Moscow than to Washington—depends on this.

MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI has already written that this whole secret operation to transfer equipment, the point of which has not been convincingly explained by the Defense Ministry, and particularly other actions—the handing over of three ground forces divisions' heavy weapons to Navy jurisdiction—places the Paris treaty's ratification in Western parliaments at risk. This naturally could signal a breakdown in the whole European process.

Even the monitoring [kontrolnaya] group specially set up under the treaty, meeting in Vienna, could not eliminate the sense of concern over both the actions. But in the course of a Soviet-American meeting held at the foreign minister level the Soviet side made new proposals which were nevertheless not adopted neither. From the Americans' point of view it contained only quantitative concessions, which do not alter the fundamentals of the matter because they fail to shut off the channel for circumventing the treaty.

According to information received by MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, not long before J. Baker arrived in Moscow the two approaches to the whole vexed question collided head-on. Our diplomatic department proposed eliminating the contradictions which had arisen (there is the particular issue of counting **all** combat hardware within the ceilings agreed at the talks) and prepared its own ideas for the country's leadership. However, as a result of the discussion which took place it seems most likely that the view of the military, who were defending the expediency of their actions, gained the upper hand.

Thus the question remains open. It is clear that the country's president must make the decision in the end. In essence the choice comes down to the following: either to preserve the excess [izlishki] combat hardware, or to preserve the West's trust in the country's political course.

Woerner Against East European NATO Membership

LD1004192991 Moscow TASS in English 1630 GMT 10 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Kalintsev]

[Text] Bonn April 10 TASS—NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner has declared against the expansion of the North-Atlantic Alliance as a result of granting NATO membership to East European countries.

In an interview published in the newspaper WESTFELISCHE RUNDSCHAU today, he said that such an upsetting of the balance in Europe would be unacceptable to the Soviet Union, for thereby NATO would closely approach the USSR's borders.

With the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Eastern and Central Europe, it is planned to reduce the armed forces of the alliance stage-by-stage, which will be a response to the change of the situation on the continent, he said.

At the same time, Woerner said, there can be no question of the disbandment of NATO which remains the backbone of the European security system, of which the CSCE process, the European Community and the Council of Europe are components as well.

Only the role and aims of NATO will change. Tasks of coordinating political moves, preventing and settling conflicts will increasingly move to fore in future. NATO, however, will remain a defensive military alliance, although with lesser armed forces and a modified strategy.

At present, there is no direct threat of a military attack, Woerner emphasised. There have appeared, however, other dangers arising in particular from the instability in the Soviet Union, the existence of a "belt of crises" from the borders of Maghreb countries to the Persian Gulf, the unpredictability of further development of East European countries and the north-south conflict. In this situation, Woerner said, it would be unreasonable to give up such a political instrument as NATO.

Gremitskikh Urges 'Caution' on Iraq Issue

LD1004172591 Moscow TASS in English 1610 GMT 10 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow April 10 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksander Bessmertnykh addressed a letter to U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar concerning the continuing conflict in Afghanistan and the escalation of combat activities in that country, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh told a briefing here today. The letter stresses that everything must be done to make 1991 the year of political settlement in Afghanistan. It noted the need to observe the Geneva accords on Afghanistan and praises the U.N. peace-making role in the search for ways to unblock the conflict.

Gremitskikh told journalists that Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksander Belonogov was in Rabat for political consultations. He had a substantial exchange of views on a number of major international and regional problems with the Moroccan minister of foreign affairs and cooperation and the secretary of state for foreign affairs. The sides focused on the set of problems relating to the post-crisis settlement in the Persian Gulf, the solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Middle East situation as a whole. They also considered some aspects of the U.N. peace-making activity, including in Western Sahara, and initiatives to arrange the process of security and cooperation in the Mediterranean. They noted the coincidence or close proximity of views on these problems.

The Soviet spokesman said that "Moscow has received with satisfaction" the results of consultations between first deputy foreign ministers of India and Pakistan, during which, according to reports, two agreements were reached on confidence-building measures in the military field. "Undoubtedly, these agreements along with the recently enacted agreement on non-aggression against each other's nuclear installations mark a major step towards the normalization of Indian-Pakistani relations. Thanks to changes in the world, favourable conditions appear for the development of this process and the strengthening of security and cooperation in South Asia," the Soviet spokesman noted.

Responding to questions about the initiatives to create "buffer zones" in northern Iraq, the Soviet spokesman said that "proposals to set up safety asylums for Kurds in Iraq's northern regions and to deploy there U.N. observers should be approached with caution, because it would actually mean the withdrawal of part of Iraq's territory from its authority without the consent of its government, which is contrary to the U.N. charter. In addition the creation of enclaves on Iraqi territory would confront the U.N. Security Council with the need to solve complex problems relating to the delimitation of borders and the definition of the international legal status of such zones, the ethnic composition of their population and relations with Kurdish regions in Turkey and Iran".

Ignatenko Cited on Georgia, Kurdish Refugees

PM1004154391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Apr 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by G. Charodeyev: "V. Ignatenko: We Cannot Control Situation Inside Iraq"]

[Text] A routine briefing by the USSR president's aide and leader of the USSR president's press service was held at the press center on Zubovskiy Boulevard.

Answering numerous questions from Soviet and foreign correspondents, V. Ignatenko announced that M. Gorbachev's trip to Japan will, as planned, begin 14 April.

At midnight the president will stop over in Khabarovsk. There will be numerous meetings with the city's inhabitants and in the labor collectives, where he will speak without fail. Late in the evening the president will leave for Japan...

An Arab journalist asked the briefing's presenter to confirm or deny claims that at the end of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Congress there was a meeting between M. Gorbachev and B. Yeltsin. The USSR president's aide said that he "knew nothing of such a meeting."

A correspondent from the United States asked: What was M.S. Gorbachev's reaction to the declaration on Georgia's state independence unanimously adopted by the republic's parliament at an extraordinary session?

"A Constitution operates in the country which enshrines the possibilities for republics to openly express their opinion, to declare independence, and to leave the USSR," the leader of the press service stressed. "It seems to me that the president's reaction will be appropriate to those articles of the Constitution which exist and operate as of today."

V. Ignatenko was asked about the Soviet leadership's possible reaction to the problem of the Kurdish refugees.

"We cannot control the situation inside Iraq or be arbiters in deciding what government should be in power in that country," he replied. "But it is essential to understand that today it is a case of a real human tragedy—nearly 2 million Kurds cannot find asylum and are being subjected to intolerable humiliations in Iraq itself. There is no doubt of that. For us to be drawn into someone's interethnic or civil war is inconceivable. In addition it is well known that the problem of the Kurds is complex. It also applies directly to our country, where there are about 160,000 Kurds living. Nearly 100,000

Kurds live in the republics of the Transcaucasus, the remainder in Central Asia and Kazakhstan. Today we express human, humanitarian solidarity with the Kurdish people in Iraq.. Incidentally, recently representatives of the Soviet Kurdish public visited the USSR Foreign Ministry and the CPSU Central Committee and during their meetings voiced their attitude toward what is happening now in Iraq. The Kurds' representatives asked the Soviet leadership to issue a political statement in defense of the Kurdish population of Iraq. I also want to report," V.N. Ignatenko continued, "that none of the Kurdish refugees has asked us for political asylum or admission for permanent residence in the USSR."

A correspondent from the NOVOSTI news agency asked about the date of the next Soviet-U.S. summit meeting.

The leader of the USSR president's press service replied: "We hope that everything will proceed according to the planned schedule. The meeting should take place in the first half of this year in Moscow..."

United States & Canada

Bogachev Views Cheney 'Pax Americana' Ideas

LD1004173991 Moscow TASS in English 1558 GMT 10 Apr 91

[By TASS military analyst Vladimir Bogachev]

[Text] Moscow April 10 TASS—Some years ago, observers said—half in earnest, half in joke— that the Pentagon received its heaviest blow when it discarded the image of the communist enemy, which the American military manipulated to pressure congress for more money to develop new arms systems and enhance their influence on Washington's international policy decision-makers.

As a result of changes in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe the image of the enemy, fostered by the Pentagon for years, has faded and become unsuitable for previous uses. However, despite other forecasts, the Pentagon's desire to preserve its position in the United States and on the international arena under new pretexts has not been undermined.

New attempts are now being made in the United States to reanimate the old manifest destiny theory, according to which a world order should be created for the United States "to determine future developments everywhere in the world and for the U.S. President to rule the world like Emperor Augustus did in the past".

U.S. Defence Secretary Richard Cheney made a statement that echoes this theory in Washington on Tuesday. "I think that the U.S. clearly emerges from all of this as the one real superpower in the world," Richard Cheney said," the capacity of the United States for leadership, I think, has been demonstrated once again. I think our friends and allies all over the world take heart in knowing that the United States has not only the capability to keep our commitments but the willingness, as well, to use that capability...".

Cheney admitted that, taking into account changes in the Soviet Union, the Pentagon had to give up the idea that dominated in its plans of rebuffing the Soviet invasion of Western Europe. In this connection the possibility arose to cut considerably the number of American armed forces. However, he gave in to the inertia in reiterating the old adage that the Soviet Union and even some third world countries continue to pose a threat to the United States.

Translating these ideas into a practical plane, Cheney favoured the continuation of developing and fielding armaments within the framework of the strategic defence initiative, which is known to envisage the denunciation by the United States of its key commitments under the 1972 anti-ballistic missile treaty. Richard Cheney supported plans for updating the Stealth technology in aircraft building as well as for building high-precision military equipment.

President George Bush declared recently that he had plans of creating a new world order. The question now arises, what place will the Pax Americana concept voiced by the U.S. defence secretary take in these plans?

TASS Profiles New Ambassador to U.S.

LD1004122391 Moscow TASS in English 1136 GMT 10 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow April 10 TASS—The Soviet president appointed Viktor Komplektov ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the United States. He will replace Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, who is now Soviet foreign minister.

Komplektov, born in 1932, is Russian. He graduated from the Moscow International Affairs institute in 1954.

He has been working at the Soviet Foreign Ministry since 1955. Between 1956 and 1959 he worked at the Soviet Embassy in the U.S., in 1959-1963—at the American Countries Division of the Foreign Ministry.

Between 1963 and 1968 he was second, first secretary and then counsellor of the Soviet Embassy in the U.S. From 1968 to 1978 he was counsellor and deputy head of the U.S. division, in 1978-1982—head of the U.S. division and member of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Collegium.

He has been deputy foreign minister since 1982.

Komplektov has the diplomatic rank of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary.

China

Li Peng on Sino-Soviet Ties, Jiang Zemin Visit

LD1004221791 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 10 Apr 91

[Excerpts] The annual session of the National People's Congress, the highest body of state power in China, has finished its work in Beijing. Here is Albert Papayan, our correspondent in China:

[Papayan] [passage omitted] In order to implement these, the press notes, China needs a situation of internal political stability and unity and also a peaceful international environment.

This idea was emphasized by Li Peng, premier of the State Council at a press conference for Chinese and foreign journalists on Tuesday.

Replying to a question by a Soviet Radio correspondent on the present state and prospects of Soviet-Chinese relations, the head of the Chinese government said:

[Begin Li Peng recording in Mandarin fading into Russian translation] Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, will pay an official friendly visit to the Soviet Union next

month. This visit will be in return for the visit by Soviet President Gorbachev to China in 1989. Naturally, the two leaders will hold a wide and intensive exchange of views on issues of bilateral relations and international problems of mutual interest. Bilateral relations will develop in the direction of strengthening goodneighborliness and there will be no return to their situation in the 1950's, Li Peng noted. [end recording]

Attache, Organizer Cited on Hopes for Harbin Fair

PM1004145391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Apr 91 Second Edition p 5

[L. Kuznetsov report under the "Fairs, Exhibitions" rubric: "Harbin, June"]

[Text] Many letterwriters ask that we cite specific examples illustrating the state of Soviet-Chinese economic ties.

The second Fair for the Development of PRC Trade Ties with the USSR and East European Countries, to be held in Harbin (June 1991), is undoubtedly one such example. The fair covers a total area of 14,000 square meters. It will accommodate more than 10,000 exhibits.

"It will display the products of light and heavy industry (chemicals, mining), clothing, quilted goods, silk products, and handicrafts," Lu Shutan, commercial counselor at the PRC Embassy in the USSR, said at a press conference held in Moscow.

"The upcoming Harbin fair," added Dong Qian, a leader of the Chinese International Advertising Company, "is also designed to discover and develop new opportunities for flexible, varied development of economic ties in a swiftly changing world."

Hence, as my interlocutors said, the interest, particularly among Chinese state figures, economists, and business people, in the processes which are under way in the USSR and which will expand oppportunities for border and interregional trade, carrying out contractual work, the provision of various services, the creation of joint ventures, and so forth.

The organizers of the fair pin great hopes on the participation in it of unionwide, republic, and regional (Siberia, the Far East) enterprises and organizations of ours.

Border Incident, Woman's Mistreatment Cited

PM1004151191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Apr 91 p 2

[Letter from Sent Karyshevich Satekov, resident of Ust-Kamenogorsk, followed by editorial commentary, carried under general headline "Letter—Incident on the Border"]

[Text] "On 17 March 1987 an armed PRC soldier burst into my parents' house on the border with the Chinese republic (Nikolayevka Village in Markakolskiy Rayon, East Kazakhstan Oblast). With his assault rifle he killed my father, my two brothers, and a neighbor. He took my 58-year-old mother hostage. He demanded that she show him the road to the security detachment post, but mother managed to trick him and ran 12 km at night to the security detachment to warn of the armed bandit. He was detained. Mother was promised that the house would be restored (it was destroyed in the process of detaining the criminal). But all the promises have come to nothing. She even had the privileged service she used to get in the combat veterans' store as the widow of a combat veteran withdrawn. Mother is a veteran of labor, a heroine mother; she has medals and has performed heroic deeds; they are aware of all this, but offer no help.

I wrote to Moscow and got the answer that help would be given locally. However, things have not budged an inch..." [Letter ends]

From the Editors: Enclosed with the letter is a cutting from the local paper MAYAK. In October last year, the newspaper says, Lyazat Satekovaya was awarded a document from the military unit command "For active assistance to the Border Troops in guarding the USSR state border and political vigilance displayed in this...", and also a money award—28 rubles.

That was the limit of their gratitude.

Northeast Asia

Report Doubts Kim Chong-Il's Alleged PRC Visit

PM1104101991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Apr 91 p 3

[Report by A. Platkovskiy citing interview with PAP correspondent Krzysztof Darewicz: "Ready for the Leader's Mantle"]

[Text] The Japanese newspaper MAINICHI recently reported that Kim Chong-il, the son and heir of the "great leader" Kim Il-song, has paid a secret visit to China. What information do they have on this in Beijing? I telephoned Krzysztof Darewicz, correspondent of Poland's PAP agency in the PRC, who follows events in North Korea closely, and asked him to answer our questions.

"The rumors of secret talks between Kim Chong-il and the Chinese leadership, by all accounts, are uncorroborated," he said. "I base this not just on the official denial of a PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman, who called them a 'fabrication.' No foreign observers have noticed any signs of the unusual activeness that accompanies such visits either in the area of the DPRK embassy or at Beijing station. As a rule, leaders from the Pyongyang hierarchy travel to Beijing by train."

[Platkovskiy] Last fall Kim Il-song paid a secret visit to China but stopped in Shenyang (a city in northeast China), not Beijing. Perhaps Kim Chong-il used the same route, too?

[Darewicz] This option, of course, cannot be ruled out. In any event, the fact that the two countries' leaders maintain close contacts, including those that are not publicized, is well known. By all accounts, something is happening in that regard now. Foreign observers in Beijing believe that the session of the Supreme People's Assembly opening in the DPRK 11 April will be a discussion of the question of transferring power into Kim Chong-il's hands. There are persistent rumors that the health of Kim Il-song, who will be 79 on 15 April, has seriously deteriorated. It has become known from other trustworthy sources that in February his year the leader adopted a decision to transfer control of the Army fully to Kim Chong-il. If that is indeed so, Pyongyang is extremely interested in receiving first-hand information on the Chinese leadership's reaction and also in securing support.

Kondrashov on Kurils, Soviet-Japanese Relations

PM1004144491 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Apr 91 Union Edition p 4

[Article by political observer Stanislav Kondrashov: "Reincarnated as a Japanese, or Democracy at the Expense of Diplomacy"]

[Text] After returning on Wednesday from a trip to Japan for a journalists' "roundtable" meeting, that same evening I watched on television the scuffle in the Kremlin between Russian people's deputies and USSR General Prosecutor N.S. Trubin. The prosecutor was seeking—unsuccessfully—to obtain permission to bring criminal proceedings against the deputy and well-known businessman A.M. Tarasov, who stated at the end of January that M.S. Gorbachev had concluded a secret deal with Tokyo about selling the four well-known islands of the Kuril chain to Japan for $200 billion.

"Fresh" from that country and not yet having cooled down from the discussions of these same disputed islands, I watched the television as if through Japanese eyes, but the despair I felt was by no means Japanese. With rare exceptions, the deputies trampled all over this bone-china problem with the subtlety of a bull in a china shop. And the general prosecutor himself was really smart, bringing this scandalous episode into the limelight only two weeks before the first official visit to Japan by a head of our state in history. I watched through Japanese eyes, and saw that the factual side of the case, for them (unlike the majority of the deputies and orators), is simply ridiculous: They know there was no secret deal, and nor was there, or is there, any intention to fork out the crazy sum of $200 billion for the islands, much as they may want them. And if anything does happen at this stage (which is dubious), that figure will have to be reduced at least by a factor of 10. Neither dollars nor yen are piled up in the path of political compromise. Once again, ignorance and minds overheated by political passions exaggerate both our own importance in this world, and the value of our concessions, which in any case melts rapidly away as the number of concessions is increased, and also as the USSR's international weight declines.

But a Japanese watching the evening's television would, I think, have been stuck just as forcefully by the diplomatic and political side of the matter as by the factual side. So this is the unhealthy atmosphere of disorder and disagreement in which the Soviet Union is preparing for the visit. Look how they don't trust the facts or each other, look at the public zeal with which they come to the microphone to flaunt their distrust and lack of confidence in their own president, who, fulfilling his historic duty, is about to visit the Land of the Rising Sun, an economic superpower from which we would like to receive help both in kind and in advice as to how we poor creatures could talk less and work more.

On Wednesday the general prosecutor was defeated, which, in my view, is entirely logical: Tarasov's statement, however irresponsible, is hardly worth considering under the Law on Protecting the Honor and Dignity of the President. The reaffirmation of parliamentary immunity enables the victor—and anyone who is tempted to follow his example—to continue to shoot critical arrows at his favorite target. Democracy, so to speak, has triumphed. And none of it would matter, were it not for the fact that this is a triumph at the expense of diplomacy and the national interest. After all, they are associated with the prestige of the head of state, who bears, so to speak, personal responsibility for foreign policy.

The strength of any state in the outside world is based on its strength internally, denoting the necessary degree of unity. Only now, finding ourselves in a position of progressively greater weakness, including weakness in foreign policy, can we really appreciate the never disguised and eternally repeated creed of official Washington—to act from a position of strength. Positions of strength owe more to society's prevailing consensus in the foreign policy sphere than they do to the military might factor. Like many other things, consensus is in very short supply in our country. But disorder and disagreement are plentiful, leading not only to the deepening of the all-around domestic crisis, but also weakening our foreign policy positions more and more. The conflicting parties, the center and the republics, block each other's actions. And the outside world's reaction is progressing from amazement toward condescension, as it sees that the great power, in its present phase of development, is displaying more and more potential for delaying or destructive actions and less and less potential for constructive ones.

The problem of the four islands has long since become, both symbolically and actually, the chief brake on the development of our relations with Japan. In 1956 we pledged to hand over two of them—Habomai and Shikotan—and even ratified the well-known Soviet-Japanese Declaration containing such an accord. Under the declaration, the other two islands—Kunashir and Iturup—became the subject of discussion. But this promise, like

the pledge to hand over the others, was buried in 1960 when, citing the Japanese-American "security treaty," Moscow changed its policy and for 30 years refused even to acknowledge the existence of a "territorial problem." This acknowledgment has come only now, in the course of immediate preparations for Gorbachev's visit—for instance, in his two conversations with Ozawa, general secretary of the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan. On arriving in Tokyo immediately after the said conversations, I was able to see once again the extent to which the territorial issue absorbs the Japanese, and how they tried in detail to interpret the USSR president's position: will they give them back, what will they give back, how, when. The Liberal Democratic Party's new plan, which the Japanese side regards as a concession, provides for the immediate return of two islands and the recognition of Japanese sovereignty over all four.

Japanese ruling circles, having for many years, politically and in propaganda terms, made the return of the "northern territories" a necessary condition for a breakthrough in relations with the Soviet Union, have become hostages to public opinion—opinion that they themselves created. It is difficult to backtrack before the visit, although an attempt is now being made to reduce exaggerated expectations of a speedy result. I have heard from well-informed circles at the Japanese Foreign Ministry that they now realistically expect from the coming visit only the start of new relations, the first step along a new path.

As for the Soviet side, it can congratulate itself on another paradoxical success in the struggle between emerging democracy and diplomacy. Thanks to democracy, Moscow too has now become a hostage to public opinion on the question of the disputed islands. And here we are now watching a game of political football, involving first and foremost relations between the center and Russia, between Gorbachev and Yeltsin. Efforts to find the vector in interests that do not always coincide are coupled with ambition and the simple desire to make the other camp's life difficult or the fear of being "exposed." When USSR People's Deputy Yu.N. Afanasyev, one of the most radical democrats, supports the return of the islands, it passes off smoothly. When A.M. Tarasov, also a democrat, accuses the president of agreeing to sell them (not give them away!) for a nice round sum, some people see this as virtually state treason, while others demand that the author of the allegation be taken to court for slander. Nobody has the undisputed potential to impose his line, and each side, in effect, has the right of veto. And the matter stalls. And out of the various possibilities, the most likely is the procrastination option, and that can hardly be expected to yield a strategic breakthrough or a fat economic and political profit.

In recent days our newspaper, like others, has produced a great deal of material about Japan. There have been long reportages from the Kuril Islands. We have just finished publishing a series of articles by IZVESTIYA's Tokyo correspondent Sergey Agafonov, containing a thoughtful analysis, thought-provoking predictions about the development of Soviet-Japanese relations, and recommendations as to how the Soviet Union should act. In my brief notes on my return from Japan I would only wish to put forward an idea that never left me while I was there and seems to me, in present conditions, to be central. To an increasing extent, it is consensus within our society and its—alas—rival political structures that will determine the further progress of Soviet-Japanese ties, which, it is no secret, tempt us chiefly because of their economic and technological aspect.

We offer them a settlement about the islands, they offer us greater attention from their businessmen and financiers. The Soviet Union currently accounts for only 1.1 percent of Japan's foreign trade turnover, while the United States, which ranks first, accounts for 27.3 percent. Our place is 20th, between such "giants" as Switzerland and Belgium. Trade and economic ties between us have recently been declining rather than growing. The reason also stems from the internal state of our affairs: We have delayed payments amounting to half a billion dollars, and, most important, the Japanese do not know whom they are dealing with and what will come out of the rivalry between Gorbachev and Yeltsin. Nowadays, this is the paramount question for them too, and, as I saw for myself, they put this question to everyone.

So, democracy is a splendid thing. But preferably not at the expense of diplomacy.

Nuclear Energy Cooperation With Japan Anticipated

LD1004133491 Moscow TASS in English 1324 GMT 10 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Dmitriy Bandura]

[Text] Tokyo April 10 TASS—Nuclear energetics has excellent chances of becoming a sphere for Soviet-Japanese cooperation, according to Japanese experts. Both sides are well established in this area and are mutually interested in further progress.

"The rich Soviet experience in the peaceful use of nuclear energy is very attractive to Japanese experts. We would like to know more about it in exchange for our achievements", Hiroshi Murata, deputy chairman of the Japanese Nuclear-Industrial Forum, told TASS.

Soviet-Japanese contacts in this sphere have been developing since an agreement on cooperation on science and technology was signed in 1973 and have already yielded results, V. Konovalov, Soviet minister for atomic energy and industry, told TASS. He took part in a conference of the forum, which is a non-governmental organization of representatives of nuclear energetics. The minister noted that the contacts were nothing more than "an occasional exchange of information", and that it is time to make them regular.

Both sides believe that the coming Soviet-Japanese summit in Tokyo will promote cooperation. Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev is expected to sign an agreement that will make nuclear energetics a special branch of cooperation. The agreement envisages, in particular, that the Soviet Union will obtain the Japanese technology for controlling nuclear power stations and nuclear waste. The Japanese, in their turn, want to study Soviet experience in developing and creating fast reactors.

Mutual research in providing safety at nuclear power stations will be of special importance. The lessons of the Chernobyl tragedy will be thoroughly studied. The Japanese government said it is ready to help eliminate the consequences of the disaster and is contributing to the international Chernobyl fund.

The Soviet delegation at the conference proposed selling enriched and nonenriched uranium to Japan.

Hiroshi Murata said he is sure that the signing of the agreement will considerably enlarge the possibilities for cooperation in all spheres.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

End of U.S. Aid To Sihanouk, Son Sann Viewed

BK1104084591 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 10 Apr 91

[Oleg Alekseyev commentary]

[Text] The United States, when deciding to grant aid to the groups of Sihanouk and Son Sann, attached a special condition saying that this aid will be stopped if it falls into the Khmer Rouge's hands. This condition was written into law at the demand of Congress. At that time, the Washington administration did not object to the condition because it goes along with the White House (?policy), which remains unchanged to this day, namely that there are no relations with the Khmer Rouge, the group that is guilty of committing genocide in Cambodia from 1975 to the end of 1978.

However, as the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs has noticed, new evidence has emerged to show that U.S. aid has usually been taken over by the Pol Pot group. Furthermore, there is evidence that the three groups of the Cambodian opposition also closely cooperate on the battlefield. In view of the Senate committee, this means that U.S. assistance has also served the Khmer Rouge's interests. This is why the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs has revealed its conclusion, supported by the majority of senators, to stop providing aid to groups of the Cambodian opposition.

As AFP has noted, as a reaction to the Senate's stance, the U.S. Department of State has issued a statement saying that the United States has no desire to make any changes in its policy toward the Cambodian problem. However, according to a U.S. expert, if the Senate, fully in accordance with its charter, stops allocating funds to assist groups of the Cambodian opposition, then there is no other way out for the Washington government than to cut off this aid. Observers have noted that a White House agreement with the Senate cannot be ruled out. This is based on the fifth U.S.-Vietnamese meeting in Washington on 9 April to discuss the Cambodian problem.

Near East & South Asia

TASS Observer Views Baker-Shamir Talks Issues

LD1004173691 Moscow TASS in English 1539 GMT 10 Apr 91

[By TASS international observer Yuriy Tyssovskiy]

[text] Moscow April 10 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's second trip to the Middle East after the end of the Gulf war seems to have started yielding positive results, although they still look bleak against the background of great difficulties which have yet to be overcome. It appears that Baker has managed to talk the Israeli prime minister, Yitzhak Shamir, into accepting the idea of convening a regional conference on Middle East. The conference to be held under auspices of the United States and the Soviet Union is expected to be attended by all the immediate participants in the conflict—Israel, its Arab neighbours, Saudi Arabia and "Palestinians".

As regards the latter, no agreement has yet been reached. No decision has been taken with regard to Arab countries which have not yet expressed their agreement to participate in the projected conference. What Palestinians are expected to take part? Tel Aviv favours inviting Palestinians from occupied territories to take part in the talks and is categorically opposed to the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organisation and representatives of the East Jerusalem Palestinians, as well as persons deported by Israeli authorities from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

This approach will certainly lead into an impasse, because any attempt to leave the Palestine Liberation Organisation outside the framework of the future settlement and deny its legitimate right to represent the Palestinian population means that no settlement will ever be achieved. It would be likewise short-sighted to try and treat this organisation as a kind of Middle East pariah just because it supported Saddam Hussayn.

If the United States intends to remain true to its self-assumed mission of "an impartial broker" in settling the conflict, Washington is unlikely to score any spectacular success unless it resumes contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organisation, which were broken off last summer, and pressures Israel to act in accordance with the formula it put forth nearly a quarter of a century ago—peace in exchange for territories.

The sooner Washington begins to move in that direction the better, because without this major component all efforts by James Baker will look as the intention to impose on the Arabs a surrogate peace in the Middle East.

However, the main component that casts a shadow over the prospects for a peaceful resolution of the most complex regional problem is undoubtedly Yitzhak Shamir's refusal to return to Arabs land misappropriated by Israel as a result of its aggression.

It is impossible even to think about the possibility of peace plans in the region as long as this approach holds. It is not accidental that James Baker had to dissociate himself from the policy of colonization of occupied territories pursued by Tel Aviv and stress that actions of this kind may torpedo the peace process at the very outset.

The U.S. state secretary will continue talks in Arab capitals, which will probably clarify both the positions of the sides and their ability and willingness to manoeuvre and compromise.

One would like to believe that the rejection of outdated approaches by all sides to the problem of the Middle East settlement will expand the opportunities for this.

East Europe

Poland Pullout Timetable 'Tightest Possible'

PM1004104791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Apr 91 First Edition p 3

["Topical Interview" with Colonel General V. Dubinin, commander of the Northern Group of Forces, by correspondents Colonel A. Belousov and Lieutenant Colonel A. Bugay on 8 April; place not given; first paragraph is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction: "Troops Leaving Poland"]

[Text] The final stage of the Soviet troop withdrawal, from Polish territory, begins today, 9 April. The previous day our correspondents met with Colonel General V. Dubinin, commander of the Northern Group of Forces and the USSR Government representative dealing with the presence of Soviet troops in the Republic of Poland.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Viktor Petrovich, should the withdrawal of the twice-decorated guards missile brigade now beginning be viewed as a result of the Soviet-Polish talks on the withdrawal of the Northern Group of Forces? Or is it a measure within the framework of the reduction of the Armed Forces being carried out in our country?

[Dubinin] The withdrawal of the missile brigade from Poland would have begun in 1991 in any case, even if the Polish Government had not asked us to withdraw the Northern Group of Forces. According to the defensive doctrine adopted in the USSR, by 1995 Soviet troops will not be stationed on the territory of other states.

In accordance with our plans for the reduction of troops in Europe, the withdrawal of units and subunits from Poland began as long as two years ago. A tank training regiment, an assault landing brigade, all the construction units, and also some rear supply units have left already. We had long been making real preparations for the Soviet troops' large-scale return to the motherland, and they have not, in fact, ceased for a single day. Poland did not raise the question of the Soviet troop withdrawal from its territory until the fall of 1990. People here understood that the Northern Group of Forces was ensuring the security of Poland's western border. But the united Germany had barely given the assurance that it would not seek a review of Poland's borders than the Polish Government raised the question of the withdrawal of the Northern Group of Forces. What is more, within an unrealistically short time—before the end of 1991.

On entering into negotiations, the Soviet side announced that it would not withdraw the group of forces any sooner than the troops leave Germany. A vast stock of material and technical means is concentrated on Polish territory, several times more than in the Central and Southern Groups of Forces put together. In addition, the USSR Ministry of Defense is physically unable to withdraw the Northern Group of Forces according to a reduced, rigid schedule, when such a mass of material means and personnel is already leaving Germany.

Since the Polish delegation at the Soviet-Polish intergovernmental talks on the withdrawal of the Northern Group of Forces and transit for the Western Group of Forces across the territory of the Republic of Poland asked for the complex sociopolitical living conditions in their country to be taken into account, we went along with them and revised the schedule of the troop withdrawal from Poland, which was originally calculated through 1995. Today we plan to eliminate the Northern Group of Forces by the end of 1993. So we are starting to withdraw the missile brigade ahead of the time planned two years ago, to demonstrate good will.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] As we know, however, the Polish side dislikes even that schedule, which is the tightest possible...

[Dubinin] This really is so. But I would evaluate the Polish politicians' present position as showing a desire to resolve diplomatic problems in favor of short-term political factors. It was no coincidence that, when certain members of the Polish delegation at the last round of talks in Moscow ran out of juridical and economic arguments in defense of their own positions, they resorted to ideological postulates from the sphere of rally politics: "Our people will not understand," "Our public opinion believes..." J. Parys, general director of the Polish Central Planning Administration, went so far as to declare at a session of the property and finance

commission that "there is no such thing as a solemn treaty." By following this logic it is possible to arrive at this conclusion: Is it worth having treaties at all?

Diplomacy demands a balanced, well-considered approach. The desire to resolve problems without compromise and to unilateral advantage is very damaging. I will cite an example. Back at the very start of the talks the Polish side insisted that the Northern Group of Forces should be withdrawn first and that only then should problems of our troops' transit across Poland from the Western Group of Forces be examined. That position constantly drove the talks into an impasse. In this connection the Ministry of Defense was forced to revise its plans for the troop withdrawal from Germany. Calculations showed that the Western Group of Forces could be withdrawn exclusively by sea. For this the Soviet side has commissioned three shipping companies, the capacities of Baltic ports in the USSR are being enlarged, and additional specialized ships are being appointed to carry the cargoes. The German ports of Mukran and Rostock have been fully commissioned for the transhipments, and if necessary Hamburg can also be used. The Polish side is faced with the prospect of losing entirely billions in currency revenue from railroad and road transit. And yet the money was almost in the Poles' pockets. Money which in fact would have come in extremely handy at the difficult time of Poland's transition to the market.

But, be that as it may, I want to state most responsibly that the full withdrawal of troops from the territory of the Republic of Poland, which our side has planned and proposes to complete before the end of 1993, has been scrupulously scheduled by us and is as tight as possible, with due regard for the Polish side's wishes. So, without waiting for the summit between the two countries' presidents at which the final deadline for the withdrawal of the Northern Group of Forces from Polish territory is to be approved, we are demonstrating good will and beginning on 9 April the withdrawal of units and subunits planned for 1991.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] How will the Northern Group of Forces be withdrawn?

[Dubinin] We are commencing the withdrawal with heavy weapons. The missile brigade is heading home first of all. Certain air, communications, and engineer troop units and subunits will also be withdrawn during the year. But there should be no illusions that all Northern Group of Forces aircraft, for example, will be withdrawn within the year. There are not yet sufficient airfields in our country to relocate them from Poland. Up to 10,000 people will be pulled out. Seven garrisons will be stood down completely. It should be noted that troops from those garrisons which most inconvenienced the residents of particular Polish cities and villages will be among the first to leave for the motherland. But the way the Polish side intends to take over the garrison premises being left still remains a problem, unfortunately. No mechanism for the acceptance and transfer of military camps has yet been worked out, and there are no criteria for valuing installations constructed in Poland according to USSR Defense Ministry estimates. Because of this we have been forced, for example, to prolong the presence of the Soviet garrison at Swidnica, although we were ready even six months ago to transfer the quartering installations to the Polish side. This is what attention should be focused on during the talks.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Viktor Petrovich, more than 3,000 families of officers and ensigns will leave Poland this year alone. What awaits them in the motherland?

[Dubinin] Unfortunately I have little of comfort to say in reply to this question. Some 1,700 families of officers and ensigns who do not have apartments in the Union will leave Poland this year. Next year the number of such families will stand at 4,600. In all, 9,000 officers and ensigns without apartments are serving in the Northern Group of Forces today. When will they secure housing in their own country? The answer is not hard to guess, knowing that 200,000 servicemen's families have no housing provision in the USSR today. To these should be added the 50,000 families without apartments who are leaving Germany.

Of course, we have done everything possible to ease the acuteness of the housing problem for those officers and ensigns ending their service in the Northern Group of Forces. Thanks to the efforts of personnel organs, many of them will go to serve in garrisons where living space is reserved for them.

Regarding the specific unit being withdrawn, its command has already been to reconnoiter the site of the future posting. A quartering task group has been sent there to prepare temporary accommodation designed to house the families of officers and ensigns. I do not think anyone will be left without a roof over his head.

Czech Republic Head Views Joint Relations

PM1004141991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Apr 91 Second Edition p 5

["Our interview" with P. Pithart, head of government of the Czech Republic, by PRAVDA correspondent A. Krushinskiy, date not given: "P. Pithart: 'We Are Compelled To Be Optimists'"]

[Text] Prague—Petr Pithart, head of government of the Czech republic, who recently paid a visit to Moscow, answered PRAVDA correspondent A. Krushinskiy's questions about the contemporary state of and prospects for the development of Czechoslovak-Soviet relations.

[Krushinskiy] Mr. Prime Minister, your trip to Moscow took place at a difficult time when Soviet-Czechoslovak relations were literally being radically restructured in all areas. Did this affect your perception of the visit? What feeling did you get from your partners?

[Pithart] Czechoslovak-Soviet relations are undergoing radical restructuring, but both our countries have, after all, found themselves bogged down in the kind of changes that are sometimes impossible to predict. Complexities in mutual relations are aggravated by the difficulties being experienced by both states. I did not perceive any ill will on the part of my Russian partners during my visit or, moreover, the "traditional warmth" which was often of an official nature in the past. To make up for it I encountered something incomparably better and real: frank, businesslike interest based on the similarity of our destinies.

[Krushinskiy] In your opinion, what are the main "stumbling blocks" in the way of building partnership and friendly mutual relations?

[Pithart] These "stumbling blocks" still include the legacy of the past, whose significance will, however, in my view disappear. Objective difficulties burdening both our states and uncertainty in predicting the changes taking place in both our countries present more major obstacles. The major "block" is both sides' lack of resources. This prevents many of our good ideas from being implemented. It is for precisely that reason that general good will is needed to overcome this.

[Krushinskiy] It is thought that the changes under way in our countries are similar in many respects and even interconnected to some extent. While in Moscow did you note anything instructive for the CSFR? From your experience of economic reform, what would you recommend for use in our country?

[Pithart] The changes in both cases are similar and interconnected, but there are differences. I would even say qualitative differences. Just as the USSR and the CSFR are different. I will illustrate this with an example. There are centrifugal tendencies in both states. But if they prevail, the consequences would be incomparable. If, for instance, Lithuania or Moldova left the Union, the situation in your country would not fundamentally change significantly. But if the Slovak separatists succeeded, the CSFR would cease to exist. As you can see, all the similarities notwithstanding, our destinies are different and for that reason our experience is nontransferable. This also applies to the strategy for economic reform in the two countries. We regard economic reform as a unified whole. None of its individual aspects should be isolated from the others, and for that reason they should not be recommended to others. How can you recommend something that you yourselves are just beginning, when it is still unclear whether it will succeed or not?

[Krushinskiy] Your book "History and Politics" published recently contains some sarcastic lines about the people of Prague's attitude to monuments: "From time to time in their history they tidy up, as in childhood when one doll is placed on view and another is thrown to the bottom of the drawer... The missing monuments are, however, the sign of grim, sometimes outright destructive treatment. Which is not at all successful: It is well-known from medicine that an amputated leg sometimes gives a patient "pain." Are these thoughts applicable to the problem of the "Smikhov tank" that arose here recently?

[Pithart] Yes,, I myself publicly repeated these ideas in connection with the "Smichov tank." I did not hide my desire for it to stay where it is. President Vaclav Havel, who even proclaimed this in public, also wants this. Psychologically I can understand those people who do not like the tank. Most often they are young people who associate it with 1968 rather than 1945. This is a narrow, one-sided view which distracts us from analyzing our own contribution to the period of so-called normalization. But the "Smichov tank" does, after all, symbolize something else. Hitlerite fascism posed a deadly threat to our people and almost 150,000 Soviet troops—ordinary, often quite young people—died on our territory during the war. It is inadmissible to forget that.

[Krushinskiy] What role will ties with the USSR play for Czechoslovakia, which is now making great efforts to "return to Europe"? Are you optimistic or pessimistic in assessing the prospects for these relations?

[Pithart] Europe is either united or does not exist! The USSR does after all want to be an integral part of it. Strictly speaking, its territory from the Bug to the Urals is also part of Europe. I think that the position of our two countries—the USSR and the CSFR—is such that all we can do is be optimistic. We have simply no right to allow ourselves any unfavorable prospect for the development of our relations.

West Europe

Bessmertnykh Visits Greece, Signs Agreements

Arrives 9 Apr

LD0904214991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 9 Apr 91

[Report by correspondent V. Alekseyev in Athens; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Aleksandr Bessmertnykh arrived in Athens today.

[Alekseyev] At the capital's international airport, Hellenikon, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Bessmertnykh was warmly welcomed by Greek Foreign Minister Antonis Samaras, members of the Greek government, deputies of the legislature, and numerous journalists. [video shows Bessmertnykh descending from Tu-154 Aeroflot plane]

[Begin Bessmertnykh recording] As a whole I would like to hope that this first visit by a Soviet minister to Greece will serve the further improvement of our relations, in which the peoples of both states are interested. [end recording]

[Alekseyev] On the same day Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh met his Greek counterpart Antonis Samaras in the Greek Foreign Ministry. They discussed a wide range of issues of bilateral relations and of regions and international problems.

Tomorrow the signing of a number of bilateral intergovernmental agreements and meetings between the Soviet foreign minister and President of the Greek Republic Constantinos Karamanlis and Prime Minister Constantinos Mitsotakis are expected.

TASS on Arrival Remarks

LD1004111291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1648 GMT 9 Apr 91

[Excerpt] [no dateline as received]—This is the first official visit to Greece by a USSR foreign minister in the entire history of Soviet-Greek relations, stated A. Bessmertnykh. I am happy that this honor has fallen to me and that I have an opportunity to meet the leadership of Greece, discuss issues which concern both our countries, and express my profound respect for this state with which we are linked by age old ties of friendship, good-neighborliness, and spiritual closeness.

Ahead of us, continued the Soviet minister, lies a series of intensive conversations and talks which will be devoted to bilateral relations and prospects for improving them. I hope that during my stay here, we will finish work on a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between Greece and the Soviet Union. I foresee an interesting exchange of opinions with my colleague Mr. Samaras on a wide range of international issues. I would like to hope that this first visit by a Soviet foreign minister to Greece will serve to further improve our relations, the development of which is in the interests of the peoples of both states. [passage omitted]

First Day Talks Summarized

LD0904215391 Moscow TASS in English 2116 GMT 9 Apr 91

[Text] Athens April 9 TASS—Summing up the results of the first day of Soviet-Greek talks, Soviet Foreign Minister Alexander Bessmertnykh told journalists that during the first meeting with Antonis Samaras they "thoroughly discussed some aspects of Soviet-Greek relations".

Although the Soviet Union and Greece are not contiguous countries, the two states should base their relations on principles of good neighbourliness, Bessmertnykh said.

The sides agreed that the present level of trade and economic cooperation between the USSR and Greece lagged behind the level of bilateral political contacts.

Bessmertnykh said both countries should pay attention to this aspect, for it carries a huge potential for developing mutually advantageous ties.

The Soviet Union and Greece have reached a significant level of relationship and intend to initial a treaty on friendship and cooperation and some new agreements on Wednesday.

Samaras expressed regret over the inefficiency of Soviet-Greek relations in some spheres and said the fact that the Soviet foreign minister visited Greece for the first time in 70 years proved the point.

He said, however, that this fact did not mean that the level of Soviet-Greek relations should be described as low. He expressed hope that Bessmertnykh's visit would promote friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

Talks here on April 9 and 10 open up a new era in Soviet-Greek relations.

News Conference Held

LD1004210391 Moscow TASS in English 2047 GMT 10 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondents Vladimir Malyshev and Igor Sysoyev]

[Text] Athens April 10 TASS—Soviet and Greek foreign ministers Aleksandr Bessmertnykh and Antonis Samaras held a news conference here today on the results of the Soviet minister's official visit to Greece.

Bessmertnykh said he had conveyed a personal message from President Mikhail Gorbachev to Greek Prime Minister Constantinos Mitsotakis. Bessmertnykh noted that the Soviet president invited the Greek prime minister to visit the Soviet Union and expected the visit to be held this year.

Bessmertnykh highly assessed his meeting with President Konstandinos Karamanlis of Greece, during which they discussed mutual relations, the all-European situation, the situation in the Balkans and the Mediterranean.

Soviet-Greek relations are not burdened with any historic problems. On the contrary, they have been enriched with the accumulated experience, common history and religion and spiritual closeness. There are good prospects for their development, Bessmertnykh said, noting that the level of bilateral relations could be higher than now, first and foremost in the trade and economic sphere.

"We believe that stability in the region neighbouring Greece, is an important element in the all-European stability, and we are ready to exert efforts to help normalise the situation in the region," Bessmertnykh said.

The Soviet minister's first visit to Greece was successful, Samaras said. "We have given an impetus to our relations," he said.

The visit lays the foundation for a political dialogue between the two countries in the spirit of perestroyka, he said.

PRAVDA Summarizes Visit

CM1104092791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Apr 91 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit Over"]

[Text] A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR minister of foreign affairs, paid an official visit to Greece on 9-10 April. This is the first event of its kind in the history of the generally very rich relations between the two countries.

A.A. Bessmertnykh held meetings with K. Karamanlis, the president of Greece, and also with K. Mitsotakis, the prime minister.

Talks took place with A. Samaras, the Greek minister of foreign affairs. The minister completed the elaboration of a fundamental bilateral document—a treaty on friendship and cooperation, embodying a new atmosphere and content to relations between the USSR and Greece.

Questions on the development of economic cooperation, the significant potential of which is as yet far from being fully utilized, were considered utilized, were considered meaningfully [predmetno] and in detail.

[Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1649 GMT on 10 March carries a similar version which adds here: "The Soviet side supported the initiative to create Soviet-Greek chambers of commerce. The need to move more energetically to new forms of cooperation, such as joint enterprises, business contacts at the level of medium-size and small enterprises, and of course, also in the implementation of major projects, was noted during the discussion. The idea was expressed by the Soviet side that in conditions of the decentralization of the economic mechanism in the USSR, and, in particular, in the context of international cooperation in the Black Sea zone, the Greek business world could establish direct ties with Black Sea regions of the USSR. The Greek side expressed interest in the participation by the Soviet Union in Balkan regional cooperation.

["The ministers touched on various aspects of diverse cultural and national-spiritual ties between the two countries. Concrete directions were mapped out for the further expansion of the legal base fixed by the treaty on Soviet-Greek relations—environmental protection, preservation of the cultural heritage, the struggle against the misuse and illegal circulation of narcotics, and others.

["With coinciding or close positions, the ministers conducted a review of a broad range of topical questions on international life: The Persian Gulf, a Near East settlement, the problem of security in the Mediterranean, the situation in the Balkans, tendencies of European development, and others."]

The Greek side spoke in favor of the USSR's active participation in efforts to settle the Cyprus problem. The Soviet minister expressed the view that there are fairly good prerequisites for an improvement in this matter, although the difficulties are also obvious. [The TASS Russian version adds here: "Persistence in seeking constructive solutions, good will, and realism, are essential to overcome them. A great responsibility undoubtedly also lies on countries historically connected with the fate of Cyprus, and on the permanent members of the UN Security Council. The Soviet Union continues to be ready to take an active part in collective efforts to find a just and viable settlement to the Cyprus problem on the basis of ensuring independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity, and a nonaligned status for Cyprus."]

A ceremony was held at which A.A. Bessmertnykh and A. Samaras initialled the treaty on friendship and cooperation between the USSR and the Greek Republic. An agreement on avoiding double imposition of taxes on incomes and property, and an agreement on averting incidents at sea beyond the bounds of territorial waters was also signed.

[The TASS Russian version adds here: "The meetings and conversations in Athens gave an additional impetus to Soviet-Greek dialogue, to which great significance is attached in both countries."]

A.A. Bessmertnykh left Athens today for home. At the capital's airport he was seen off by the Greek minister of foreign affairs and other officials.

Bessmertnykh Comments on Ties

LD1104093391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0630 GMT 11 Apr 91

[Excerpts] USSR Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh's official visit to Greece has ended. On the line from Athens is our correspondent Vyacheslav Alekseyev:

[Alekseyev] [passage omitted] I would remind you that this was the first visit by a Soviet foreign minister, the first official visit, to the Hellenic Republic, and of course I think it would be very interesting for our listeners to hear the personal impressions Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Bessmertnykh has of the visit.

[Announcer] I will say yes indeed on behalf of the listeners.

[Begin Bessmertnykh recording] My impressions are as follows: Soviet-Greek relations, not weighed down by any historical problems, but on the contrary, enriched by historical experience and also by common features of history and faith, by spiritual closeness, have the greatest potential for the entire future. While considering the level of relations attained today, a certain dissatisfaction was expressed because this level was not as high as it might be, and in our view this dissatisfaction is an excellent source for jointly redoubling efforts to further develop ties between the two countries. I have in mind, first and foremost, the area of trade and economic relations, which has a solid potential for development—a potential not fully explored because of a number of circumstances, including the fact that the bureaucracies in our countries have been looking upon these prospects of ours in quite a routine way. [end recording]

[Alekseyev] As you can see, the Soviet Union's foreign minister is very optimistic about the future of Soviet-Greek relations.

[Announcer] Vyacheslav, was the problem of Soviet Greeks, the so-called problem of Soviet Greeks, discussed? As far as I know, it has been coming up very pointedly as of late.

[Alekseyev] Indeed, this problem was discussed at the official talks, but I have to tell you that this problem is a constant one in the relations between our countries. The fact of the matter is that according to the official census of 1979, about 350,000 Greeks live in the Soviet Union. That is according to official figures. According to unofficial figures, there are about 1 million of them because many Greeks, for various reasons, have changed their surnames and now call themselves Petrov, Ivanov, Sidorov, and so on. Moreover, a certain proportion of the Greeks living in the southern areas of our country are now leaving our country and moving to Greece permanently. So there are two sides to this question, and both of them are of concern to the Greek Government.

Concerning the first aspect—the life of Soviet Greeks in the Soviet Union—the Soviet Government has done quite a bit lately. Even in the 1980's, schools opened in the southern areas of our country, especially in Georgia and on the Black Sea coast, where children, including those of Greek nationality, have the opportunity to learn their native language, history, culture, and so on. At the talks, the ones that have taken place in Athens, agreement was reached on the Greek Government's providing of special training for teachers who will go to the Soviet Union, where they will teach their native language and history to our Soviet Greeks.

The other side of the problem is the Greeks who leave the Soviet Union to live here permanently. Several acute problems emerge here. The first is that the Greek side would like the Soviet Union to pay in foreign currency for at least 50 percent of the property they leave on the Soviet Union's territory. The second is the Greeks who receive pensions in the Soviet Union and would like to have them here, also in foreign currency. So, as you can see for yourself, this is very difficult to resolve at the moment. For this reason, the sides have agreed to continue negotiations on these problems. [passage omitted]

Greek Reportage on Visit

WA0904182491

For further reportage on the visit by Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh to Greece, please see the Greece section of the 9 April West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Walesa Talks With NATO, EC Leaders Viewed

PM1004141591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Apr 91 Second Edition p 3

[V. Peresada report: "Will Poland Catch Up With the 'Brussels Express'? L. Walesa in Belgium"]

[Text] Brussels—The interest in this visit was obvious even before it began. Newspapers wrote a great deal about the "new Poland" and the unusual biography of its president and they all made suppositions about the "main aim" of the visit. In a number of comments you could detect a certain amount of speculation about its priorities, based on the fact that L. Walesa, who was invited to Brussels by the EC leadership, was to meet the NATO leadership as well.

What the Polish president mainly stressed the day before his arrival practically made this kind of speculation groundless. In an interview with LE LIBRE BELGIQUE he stated: "I am not going to Brussels to knock on NATO's door but to pave the way to Poland's integration into Europe." And yet many journalists with whom I talked at the airport while waiting for Walesa's airplane to land preferred to judge things not by the statements made beforehand, but those made at the end of the visit.

First of all, the Polish president met with M. Woerner, secretary general of the North Atlantic alliance (the meeting did not take place in the NATO headquarters but in the Polish embassy, since it was of an unofficial nature). Speaking to journalists afterwards, Walesa said that he believes that it is necessary to preserve NATO in the transitional period preceding the creation of a system of universal security on the continent. Noting that following the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact military structures East European countries "have found themselves in a vacuum," he stressed at the same time that Poland does not intend to ask to join NATO. "In this new age," the president said, "we advocate a united Europe which includes the Soviet Union, and we do not want the USSR to get the impression that we are doing something against its interests."

M. Woerner also advocated the creation of an all-European security system with the USSR's participation. Apart from that, he pointed out the need to extend cooperation with the East European countries—both within the framework of the CSCE and on a bilateral basis. We will see how this will be put into practice. I think that Walesa's official visit to NATO will make many things clear.

The results of the Polish president's talks in the Common Market headquarters look more concrete. At the final press conference both he and EC Commission Chairman Jacques Delors made it plain that an agreement on association between Poland and the EEC may be signed as early as this year. If this happens, Poland will be the first East European country to enter into close relations with the Common Market. Agreements of this type envisage both broad economic cooperation,

including free trade, and substantive "association" in the political and cultural spheres.

There is also another interesting thing. At the press conference Walesa affirmed that the long-term aim is Poland's entry into the EEC, and Delors considered such a probability in this specific form for the first time with respect to an East European country. According to him, even the agreement on association may include a "relevant political signal." Certain Western newspapers are already shouting about this, proclaiming the imminent expansion of the EEC. However, to my mind, they are doing this prematurely. The process of turning the "political signal" into real integration will clearly be a very lengthy one.

TASS Analyst Comments on EC Luxembourg Summit

LD1004015591 Moscow TASS in English 1953 GMT 9 Apr 91

[By TASS international news analyst Albert Balebanov]

[Text] Moscow April 9 TASS—A special session of the European Community member states at summit level has been held in Luxembourg. It was almost entirely devoted to an analysis of the Gulf war and, as a consequence, to the elaboration of a common course in the EC foreign policy.

The raising of this issue was prompted by both EC partners' different attitudes to the Gulf war and a desire to provide an answer to challenges posed to the EC by a qualitatively new post-war situation in the world.

The point is that during the conflict with Iraq, London, without consultations with its EC partners, decided to continue to follow in the wake of U.S. policy. An identical position was taken by The Hague. The Governments of Britain and the Netherlands did not conceal their desire to secure the maintenance of U.S. influence in Europe.

Paris, for its part, proceeded from a desire to strengthen its positions in the Arab world. As far as Bonn is concerned, it preferred not to get directly involved in the conflict but did not deny financial and, partly, military support for participants in the anti-Iraq coalition. Brussels and Madrid limited themselves to military presence in the Gulf area.

On the other hand, the victory won by the anti-Iraq coalition was virtually usurped by the Americans and, it seems, is being presented by them as a triumph of the United States alone. Many an analyst in European capitals views this as an attempt to edge Western Europe out in the world arena, limiting its right to vote on solutions concerning global problems.

I believe that "the Twelve" have managed to smooth out differences and somewhat neutralise Washington's attempts to infringe EC interests.

It was precisely due to EC initiatives concerning the Kurdish problem—the establishment of a special buffer zone in Iraq for Kurdish refugees (a safe haven) and the granting of massive economic aid to the Iraqi Kurds—that the EC position was viewed with respect among the international community.

This was also promoted by the firmness of the leaders of 12 West European countries concerning the U.N. embargo on the supply of arms to Iraq, with regard to the personality of President Saddam Husayn, as well as an intention to utilise U.N. resources for a peaceful settlement of the entire package of Middle-Eastern problems, specifically by convening a regional conference after the pattern of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

The foreign ministers of nine EC countries, which are simultaneously members of the Western European Union (WEU), considered in Luxembourg the military aspects of giving aid to the Iraqi Kurds. This action is viewed as a desire to draw the WEU—the only West European organisation with military functions—into EC structures.

This meeting undoubtedly became a sort of challenge to the United States which fears a decline in U.S. military and political influence in Europe despite the existence of NATO.

On the other hand, attepts to use WEU structures reflect a growing desire of the leaders of EC countries to vest the European Community with security and defence functions in view of plans for the establishment of a close political union of the 12 countries.

Upon having practically settled their contradictions, the West European leaders became more determined to seek an acceleration of integration processes, which, in its turn, will lead to an enhancement of the EC's international influence and prestige.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Aide on Federation Council Meeting

LD1104001491 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1643 GMT 10 Apr 91

[News conference by Georgiy K. Shakhnazarov, aide to President Gorbachev and USSR people's deputies, at the Foreign Ministry press center in Moscow on 10 April—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Shakhnazarov] You have already received the main portion of information about yesterday's sitting [of the Federation Council]. You have seen the speech of the president, his introductory speech, on television. It was broadcast in full.

And there was some brief information on the discussion that took place and the results of this sitting of the Federation Council.

There was also a report there on who was present; or rather, it was said who was absent. All the rest were there, so deduction is easy. As is known, Comrades Yeltsin, the leaders of Moldova, President Snegur, the leaders of the Baltic, the Baltic republics, and, of course, of Georgia were absent. [passage omitted]

Now, on the content of the discussion that took place. There was a group of speeches by representatives of the cabinet of ministers. Comrades Doguzhiyev, Pavlov's first deputy; then Shcherbakov; Orlov, finance minister; and Gerashchenko, chairman of the USSR State Bank, spoke. Anyway, great alarm was expressed that discipline in contributions to the Union budget is not being observed, as a result of which the financing of such necessary elements of state life, such institutions as science, state establishments, cultural establishments, and defense, the whole sphere as it were, of the Army, are being placed under threat.

A very important element that later appeared in the speeches of the republics is the so-called extrabudgetary funds, with whose aid some kind of redistribution of revenues, within the framework of the union, is going on, in order not exactly to smooth them out but to take account of the difference in prices between the raw material producing republics and the republics which basically produce finished products. [passage omitted]

The government representatives talked and analyzed the reasons behind the situation that is developing. Well, they are more or less on the surface. Already it has been noted many times in many announcements and documents that these are primarily a disintegration, a disruption of economic relations. But the disruption of economic relations itself is a consequence of the conflict of laws and that arbitrary rule which is now observed in the actions of authorities at various levels. Of course, the strikes, rallies, the weakening of state discipline, economic discipline, and delivery discipline are causing very great damage. [passage omitted]

Analyzing the situation, Doguzhiyev said that of course it is impossible to maintain links in their totality because the formation of a market infrastructure is going on simultaneously, and therefore somewhere a transfer to the new principle in some part of these links is unavoidable, especially since the republics have signed agreements between themselves, including economic ones. [passage omitted]

Leaders of enterprises and the chairmen of the republican councils of ministers spoke. Comrade Skokov, who was taking the place of Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, also spoke, as well as comrade Fokin, from the Ukraine, the prime minister, and several other leaders. One must say that the Russian and Ukrainian heads of government gave to understand—emphasized—that they generally do not refuse to observe the economic agreement, and in particular the transfer of those funds which are to go to the Union budget.

But they explained this by a number of difficulties concerning the current financial situation, and it was even agreed once more to return to these issues and to study them, if possible, to remove this problem, because the president once more emphasized that this is an absolutely unacceptable situation in which the fulfillment of the planned budget will be disrupted.

[Shakhnazarov] Representatives of the trade unions also spoke. Vladimir Nikolayevich Shcherbakov, who is known to you, spoke and forcefully asked a number of questions connected with social protection. Especially now, when the transfer, a quite resolute transfer, to measures for the implementation of a new system of price setting and a price system has begun. Although it is basically a complex, painful transfer, nevertheless the trade unions basically realize the need for this but are raising a number of questions about additional protection. Some other alternative solutions will be thought through. Especially, so to speak, of the possibility of local ones.

A number of very interesting speeches, I would say, were given by the leaders of the republics, conceptual types of speeches. Ideas were put forward on how we are to get out of the economy's critical situation.

Together with the economic questions was a question on the status of the Federation Council. So far the role and place of this Council is still not clear. But it is known that ahead is the conclusion of a Union treaty and the new place and role and function of the Federation Council should be established there. Therefore, this question, so far, remains open.

[ABC correspondent, in English with superimposed Russian translation] ABC News. The president has issued a decree on a ban on demonstrations. Are you convinced that this ban should be extended to the whole country, and do you consider this feasible at all?

[Shakhnazarov] Basically, one can do anything one likes. So there have never been any limitations in that sense.

Everything depends on whether we want to observe the Constitution and the laws. Of course, it is not desirable to put new elements into our structure, especially as in our country democracy is just getting on its feet. We have a new political structure that has been created and formed. What is even more important is that a new political culture is gradually being acquired. But one also has to see the situation that the country is in at the moment. There are moments when it is necessary to mobilize all forces and means to ensure, above all, the survival of the country. Just now such a moment has come. Therefore, the president's speech yesterday once more contained an urgent appeal to stop this, at least for some time, so that the country can recover. It is intended to do this without encroaching, in any way, on democratic institutions and procedures. In the final analysis, the parliaments are working, there is a free press, and there is the opportunity to express one's opinion and defend it, but it is not obligatory each time to convene milion-strong rallies and, in practice, with the aid of street democracy and neo-Bolshevik methods to influence the bodies of authority.

[Russian News Agency correspondent] Russian News Agency. Evidently you talk with the president fairly frequently. How does he react to the idea of the roundtable that the democratic forces have mentioned and which Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, head of the Russian state, has called for?

[Shakhnazarov] I would like to remind you that, perhaps not in such words as roundtable, but the idea of a coalition, the idea of consensus, and the idea of the combined actions of various political forces was put forward by the president back beginning with the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies. And, moreover, according to its very nature, the centrist political tendency—the president has even given a theoretical justification why he adheres to this tendency in particular—it is without question inclined, and can only exist thanks to a coalition and all kinds of roundtables, that is, agreements with various political forces.

I want to say once more that yesterday he emphasized that he is prepared for actions of this type. And I think that if this time the same aspiration is demonstrated on the part of other political tendencies—and I want to believe that the statements, including those at the Russian Congress of People's Deputies, were made not only for propaganda purposes—then indeed a stage of agreement and cooperation could open up, drawing on a broad circle of political forces.

Further on Shakhnazarov Remarks

PM1104111191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Apr 91 Second Edition p 5

[TASS correspondent S. Ivanov report: "Meeting With Journalists"]

[Text] In his speech at the Federation Council session M.S. Gorbachev not only diagnosed the situation in the country but proposed a prescription to cure its ills. G.Kh. Shakhnazarov, aide to the USSR president, stated at a meeting with representatives of the mass media held 10 April at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center. Recalling the most important points of the speech, he said that it laconically assessed the current situation, set out an anticrisis program, and stressed the need for joint action in the interests of implementing that program.

The journalists were briefed on the most interesting points of the discussions held at the session.

Their attention was drawn to the fact that the anticrisis program proposed by the USSR president does not stand alone. It fleshes out the "Basic Guidelines for National Economic Stabilization and the Transition to a Market Economy" and fills them with specific content, taking account of the actual situation currently prevailing.

Commenting on the discussion at the session on the question of the Union treaty, G.Kh. Shakhnazarov stressed that the nationwide referendum had provided a clear answer about the Union's future, thereby predetermining the need to conclude a new Union treaty. This was stressed by virtually all the speeches. Leaders of republics which are prepared to continue developing the treaty and intend to conclude it noted that this work should not be postponed. As for the republics which defined their own attitude to this document, they should be contacted in accordance with the USSR Constitution. The opinion was also expressed that we need to take not only legal but economic and political account of the new position of republics which are raising the issue of their secession from the USSR. We cannot leave relations with them unchanged.

Answering the journalists' numerous questions, the aide to the USSR president specifically refuted the rumors about M.S. Gorbachev's possible removal from the post of general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee at the forthcoming party Central Committee plenum. He stated that "this was the first I've heard of it." At the same time, he said that "the possibility cannot be ruled out that the plenum will raise the question of the general secretary having to present an accountability report [otchet], but I have no information on that score."

The journalists were also addressed by A.P. Tsygankov, deputy chairman of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers State Commission for Emergencies. He spoke about the results of the second session of the preparatory committee for the UN environmental conference to be held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992.

Kucherenko Views 'Radical' Anticrisis Program

LD1104135191 Moscow TASS in English 1308 GMT 11 Apr 91

[By TASS legislative correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov]

[Text] Moscow April 11 TASS—The Soviet Cabinet of Ministers has worked out a more realistic anticrisis program than the "500-day" program by economists Shatalin and Yavlinskiy, the Chairman of the Planning and Budget Commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet Viktor Kucherenko holds.

The program includes radical measures of denationalising economy and creating competitiveness and it is more vital than the program of Shatalin and Yavlinskiy, the chairman, who took part in discussing the program at the Soviet Council of Federation last Tuesday, told TASS. "We were lucky to abandon that adventurist program last year", he said. "It is clear that to denationalise the economy without ruining the country some 15-20 years are needed and not the three months as Stanislav Shatalin and Grigoriy Yavlinskiy had suggested".

Kucherenko said that the program of the Cabinet of Ministers envisages a rather fast privatisation process and a mechanism of taking into account the interests of both the Union and the republics in this field.

The chairman said that one of the drawbacks of the program is the absence of the mechanism of its implementation.

Deputies Discuss Crisis at 'Informal' Meeting

LD1004205891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1900 GMT 10 Apr 91

[Text] In Moscow today there was an informal meeting of representatives of all groups of deputies of the Union legislature. They discussed with experts the situation that has developed within the country. A decision was adopted, through the scientific-industrial group, the initiators of the meeting, to arrange cooperation between the whole body of deputies in order to find a way out of the crisis situation. The parliamentarians decided to propose to the economic commissions of the supreme soviets of the republics that their own, deputies' version of the economic part of the Union treaty should be drafted.

Volskiy, president of the USSR scientific-industrial union, announced that representatives of all commissions will meet in Moscow on 20 April to discuss vital issues.

Trade Union Council Holds Plenum 10 Apr

Plenum Assails Cabinet

LD1004210691 Moscow World Service in English 2000 GMT 10 Apr 91

[Text] A plenum of the General Confederation [of Soviet trade unions] in Moscow has discussed how this massive working people's organization should act during the transition to a market. Speakers sharply censured Valentin Pavlov's cabinet. They noted that the multiple price growth and inadequate compensation were alarming millions of Soviet citizens and were breeding apathy and uncertainty for the future.

The plenum demanded that the central and republican governments would immediately increase compensations, introduce the indexation of population incomes immediately, and raise the pay of factory and office workers by the end of this year stage by stage.

Pavlov Links Output to Wages

LD1004222791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Apr 91

[Report by correspondent S. Suntsov, from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In Moscow today a plenum was held of the Council of the General Confederation of USSR Trade Unions. It discussed tactics and an action program for the trade unions in conditions of transition to the market. Valentin Pavlov, the country's prime minister, took part in the work of the plenum.

[Suntsov] Judging by the atmosphere prevailing in the hall, the lengthy period of peaceful coexistence between the trade unions and the government is now a thing of the past. Alarm at the crisis in society, the headlong disintegration of the economy, and the drop in the population's living standard determined the character of the report by Vladimir Shcherbakov, chairman of the General Confederation of Trade Unions, and also the speeches by those taking part. There was sharp criticism of the policy of the Cabinet of Ministers, in particular the recent price increases. In the view of the trade unions, the reform has been poorly thought out and prepared in an extremely unsatisfactory way.

In the new conditions the trade unions are declining to make demands on particular issues and do not support continual strikes, where there will be no winners. The line of the General Confederation of Trade Unions will from now on, it was stated, be a constructive opposition. The General Confederation of Trade Unions made a number of economic demands, in particular that wages be doubled within a year, that a minimum wage be approved, that a law be passed on the indexation of incomes and other things.

USSR Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov was fairly brief. Increased earning should be linked with an increased volume of output. There is no other way. On the whole, the prime minister said, the government is ready to seek a mutually acceptable solution.

But what do the participants expect from the plenum?

[P.P. Stetsenko, from the Ukraine] The main thing is that our trade unions should somehow show themselves as real defenders, and that the country should feel that they exist, are active, and are striving to achieve some improvements in the material living conditions of our people.

[S.D. Baltabayev, from Uzbekistan] The main thing, I think, is for the plenum to prove that the trade unions have been revitalized, and that the trade unions are a force on which people may rely.

[V.P. Shcherbakov, chairman of the USSR General Confederation of Trade Unions] The changes throughout our political and economic life and the process of transition to market relations have in practice been regenerating the existence of the trade unions, and we are now indeed faced with the fact that it is necessary to defend people's specific interests.

Pavlov Admits Errors Made

LD1004221891 Moscow TASS in English 2149 GMT 10 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Yegorov]

[Text] Moscow April 10 TASS—Participants in a plenary meeting of the Council of the General Confederation of Soviet Trade Unions here today demanded that an agreement for 1991 on joint tackling of socio-economic problems should be signed by the USSR Cabinet of Ministers and the confederation's council within three days.

Speakers at the plenum directly raised the question of confidence in the government which in every way drags out the signing of such an important document.

Is the government capable of taking the country out of the economic crisis, of ensuring normal living conditions and finding a way out of many situations that seem deadlocked? In reply to pungent criticism, USSR Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov admitted certain errors and miscalculations in the cabinet's activities.

At the same time participants in the plenum had to note the legitimacy of the prime minister's words that overcoming the protracted crisis depends in many respects on boosting the rate of production and tightening labour discipline at every workplace.

Plenum participants keenly discussed the recent retail pricing reform which had stirred the entire country. "Already the first days after the reform took effect have shown that the reform was inadequately thought out and was prepared in an extremely unsatisfactory way," said confederation President Vladimir Shcherbakov.

"We foresaw the possibility of big errors. There were meetings with the president, the prime minister and the entire Cabinet of Ministers of the USSR over the past one month and a half on a demand from the confederation's council, sectoral and territorial organisations. Trade unions' views on the forthcoming reform were expressed clearly".

"We all were told that the planned compensation would fully cover income losses in view of the increases in retail prices and that provision was made for the necessary measures for the social protection of the population. [no closing quotation marks as received]

"What happened in actual fact? Despite assurances by state agencies, the reform led to a sharp decline in the living standards of people. According to approximate estimates, the subsistence wage grew from 130 to 320 roubles, if state prices alone are taken into account. Considering that shop shelves throughout the country are practically empty, and that people have to turn to the farmers' market and commercial trade network again, the figure should have been by approximately one-third larger than that. As a result, new and new tens of millions of people find themselves below the poverty line".

Proceeding from the situation that has taken shape, the plenum urged the central and republican governments to immediately increase amounts of compensation and introduce the indexation of the population's incomes without delay and raise by not less than 70-100 per cent the wages and salaries in the basic branches of the economy before the end of the current year stage-by-stage.

The plenum suggested preparing and carrying out a wage reform beginning from 1992 with due regard for the compensation of the cost of the labor force on the labour market.

Participants in the plenum declared for an immediate abrogation of the five per cent tax of sales and services, and of the establishment of compulsory insurance payments by citizens to the USSR pensions fund in an amount of one per cent of wages and salaries.

They also called for adopting a state employment programme as soon as possible.

Ryzhkov Distances Self From Gorbachev Criticism

LD1104143291 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 11 Apr 91

[Text] The former Soviet prime minister, Mr. Nikolay Ryzhkov, has distanced himself from a number of negative assessments ascribed by the SUNDAY TIMES (?in) the performance by President Gorbachev and Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov. However, Mr. Ryzhkov, on a line with Moscow-based KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, said the central government should have been reshuffled only after the signing of a new Union treaty. Mr. Ryzhkov, who is completing a four-month treatment after a heart attack in December, is to later decide what he will do next.

Soyuz Not To Press for Extraordinary Congress

PM1004201591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Apr 91 Union Edition p 1

[From IZVESTIYA, TASS, REUTER, and UPI news roundup: "There Will Be No Extraordinary Congress After All"]

[Text] The "Soyuz" deputies group decided at a sitting held late on the evening of 9 April that there will be no extraordinary congress after all. Despite the fact that some leaders of the group pressed for the convening of an extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the demand that the USSR president report to it, the majority inclined to the opinion that now is not the time to hold it. The group did, however, reserve the right to propose to the Supreme Soviet that M. Gorbachev be summoned to report to a joint sitting of the chambers.

Prokofyev on Formation of Communist Deputies Club

LD1004211891 Moscow TASS in English 2055 GMT 10 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Igor Agabekov]

[Text] Moscow April 10 TASS—An organising constituent meeting of Soviet Communist deputies Club Moskva was held here today in the socio-political centre of the Moscow city and regional committees of the Soviet Communist Party. The meeting was presided over by Moscow's city committee chief Yuriy Prokofyev.

The principal purpose of the Club Moskva is "to promote through parliamentary methods the implementaiton of the action programme of the Communists of Moscow, help implement programmes of people's deputies that are members of the club and to organise communication and exchanges of views between club members on matters concerning deputies' work, the development of the party and other problems of interest to them and establish personal contacts," says the club charter.

The establishment of the club was prompted by the need to unite members of parliament that are members of the Soviet Communist Party, Prokofyev said in his speech. Communist deputies, he said, still inadequately wield techniques of parliamentary work. They lack information, coordination and unity. The Club Moskva is called upon to tackle all these tasks.

The club does not require a rigid structure and discipline. A common opinion is that it should be open to everyone and this means that representatives of the public, the press and all interested citizens will be able to participate in its work.

TASS Reviews Soviet Central Press for 11 Apr

LD1104061491 Moscow TASS in English 0551 GMT 11 Apr 91

["Soviet Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow April 11 TASS—Today's newspapers publish a report about a meeting of the Federation Council and carry a statement President Mikhail Gorbachev made at the meeting.

Gorbachev presented Soviet republican and national leaders with measures to take the country out of crisis.

Newspapers carry stories marking the 30th anniversary of the first manned space flight.

PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA cover a meeting in the House of Unions, marking the event.

The Soviet Communist Party Central Committee newspaper publishes Tamara Apenchenko's reminiscences about her meetings with cosmonaut Yuriy Gagarin.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA publishes formerly secret documents about preparations for the first manned space flight. It carries a resolution by the Presidium of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee of April 3, 1961 about the launching of a space craft-satellite.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA publishes "Theses of a Programme To Take the Russian Economy Out of Crisis and Reorient it Socially", developed by the Communists of Russia group of deputies.

The programme was presented to participants in the congress by Russian parliament Budget Commission Chairman Yu.M. Voronin.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries extracts from Yegor Ligachev's book in which he reminisces about developments in Lithuania.

Newspapers carry stories in the run up to Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Japan.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and KRASNAYA ZVEZDA publish comments by Japanese Ambassador to the Soviet Union Sumio Edamura about the future of Soviet-Japanese relations.

PRAVDA carries an interview with Japanese parliament House of Representatives Speaker Yoshio Sakurauchi.

Gorbachev's visit to Japan will open a new era in Japanese-Soviet relations, he said.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA comments on the Soviet-Japanese territorial dispute, quoting Japanese officials, who speak on the problem.

Concessions should be made not to the Japanese but to common sense, the newspaper writes.

PRAVDA publishes a USSR Supreme Soviet resolution on the enforcement of a USSR law "On the Guidelines for Entrepreneurship in the USSR" and the law itself.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reports a press conference given by N.I. Shlyaga, chief of the Soviet Armed Forces Main Military-Political Department.

The Soviet Communist Party is rated highly in the Army, Shlyaga said. De-partisation of the Army and Navy would lead to the break up of the Soviet Armed forces, according to Major General M.S. Surkov, secretary of the Army party committee, who also took part in the press conference.

Miners in the South Urals continue to strike, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA reports.

A wave of strikes has swept Belorussia, PRAVDA reports. Thousands of protesters rallied in Lenin Square in Minsk on Wednesday, it says.

TRUD covers a plenum of the Council of the Soviet Confederation of Trade Unions held in Moscow.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA write about Kurdish refugees in Iraq and Turkey.

PRAVDA carries comments by analyst Gennadiy Vasiliev about the Gulf war. The war was a triumph of state-of-the-art weaponry and questioned the effectiveness of tanks, Vasiliev writes.

CC Member Urges Evolution, Not Revolution

Part One

PM1004090191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Apr 91 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Nikolay Stolyarov, member of the CPSU Central Committee: "What Should Actually Be Done? On Political Realism and Economic Autonomy"]

[Text] The fact that we are living in a society of chronic shortages is, it seems, understood by all. But it is hardly everyone who realizes that one of the most serious causes of our misfortunes and unresolved problems today is the shortage of political realism. Not losing a sense of reality in politics is the most important condition for its success. It is high time to shift the analysis which precedes any policy (and that applies to all political trends) from the field of what is desired into the feasibly practical field. It is high time that we understood and came to terms with the fact that there is a certain selection of realities which cannot be done away with by any calls or appeals. You simply have to take them into account. The idealistic concept of politics, a concept divorced from life, not built on a study of the real state of affairs, and remote from people's practical requirements, has no future. That kind of politics lies in the sphere of good but, alas, in practice futile intentions. The events of recent months and days make it possible to conclude that these intentions, and with them the claims of individual leaders, are acquiring a not simply useless but also dangerous nature destructive to society.

"YOU ARE A LIBERAL, OLD BOY"—that textbook phrase was frequent in responses to my two items in PRAVDA (4 and 19 January 1991). The word "liberal" naturally had a reproachful and even abusive ring: You are holding out your hand, they were saying, to renegades, demagogues, destroyers of ideals, inverted democrats, while we communists must be principled with them, firmly convinced that we are right and must not try to persuade people but give uncompromising party assessments and a serious rebuttal. In my view there is nothing more dangerous than that policy for the Communist Party.

Even if liberalism is currently understood as a weakness or "intellectual concession," even then it is a benefit for our society tired of toughness. After all, every phenomenon has sensible limits.

And if we proceed from the scientific concept then with regard to the individual liberalism means a mode of thinking and activity, a frame of mind characterized by independence as regards traditions, habits, and dogmas and the desire and ability for active self-determination in the world. In the political sphere **liberalism means primarily antitotalitarianism and the defense of the individual's rights and freedoms.** Its main orientation is the easing of various forms of state and social coercion with regard to the individual. But it is absolutely right that modern Western neoliberals believe that the most diverse freedoms, including entrepreneurial freedoms, can be achieved only with the constant intervention of the state called on to create optimum conditions for their implementation.

The fact that we have begun to call people with fierce anticommunist sentiments liberals I can only attribute to the capriciousness of words' existence. The official concept of perestroyka contains the course toward the liberalization of society and sees nothing negative in that concept. But liberalism, like democracy, must always be viewed in the specific social context and we must remain realists in our assessments.

There is a not unfounded viewpoint that radical liberalism can under certain conditions lead society toward a new totalitarianism. That is understandable: Extreme liberalism slackens and shatters everything, which will invariably give rise to a public request to introduce order by the most drastic measures. The need to coordinate the liberalization of society with a strong centralized power, with the centralized programing of key fields of development, is acknowledged by all those who are on the side of society's social progress. In the West (Britain, for instance) this approach is called neoconservative. And however indignant our new democrats may be, this approach is not only productive in principle, it also blocks moves toward totalitarianism. History shows very clearly that **without liberalization a strong centralized management invariably slides toward a dictatorial and totalitarian management while with liberalization without a strong central power there is no state left.** And we should not deceive ourselves into believing that today's fighters for the republics' sovereignty and independence, in the event of secession from the Union or victory over the now flourishing central authorities, will not establish a strongly centralized power in their own state formations.

We must also consider that the personal qualities of leaders play an unusually large part in social development. At the sharp turns of history people have instinctively been drawn toward a strong personality and rallied

around it. That has always been so. But the burden of great power is not something everyone can cope with—today we need leaders whose experience, qualifications, and equable political temperament act as a guarantee of the consistency of the processes of society's liberalization and at the same time of the curbing of the processes of collapse of the structures of organization, order, integration, and economic collaboration. Democracy should on the one hand promote the advent to power of skilled people of humanitarian bent and on the other place a firm obstacle on the path toward leveling down by selfish, arrogant people who, as Plato aptly put it, embody "the elemental force of insolence and anarchy." At the levers of power we need people with kind hearts, receptive to people's misfortunes and expectations, people who organically combine flexibility and firmness in leading public affairs. Such leaders will not insist out of bravado on their most complete independence from the coordinating center and will not descend to populist appeals which are outwardly attractive but not without danger for the practice of management.

The situation is not brightened but in fact obscured still further by the desire for increasing definition in the placement of forces into flanks—on one side those who fear liberalization and oppose virtually all its forms and on the other side those who fear conservatism and the fresh consolidation of the old with the aid of the intensification of central state power. As a result instead of the desired consensus or, more simply, agreement, tolerance, and mutual understanding, we have even more disagreement, which is paralyzing real headway on both sides in the reform and perestroyka of society. It is known that the creative activity of the builders of the Tower of Babel became impossible precisely as a result of people's failure to understand each other and their inability to communicate mutually. But what Babel could suddenly occur if society continues to proceed along the path of antagonism and implacability toward any dissent! How will the leaders who, consciously or unconsciously, initiated the clash between centrifugal and centripetal forces not be able to understand that!

DO WE WANT REFORMS?—that is not a rhetorical question. If we do not believe in the evolutionary potential of our civilization and are again inclined only toward revolutions and coup, then there is no point in even talking of reforms. The path of reforms is selected precisely to rule out revolutions, social eruptions, and upheavals. We can argue as much as we like about ways and means and the pace and nature of the reform of society, but there is one rule we must profess unconditionally. We must not cross the border of peace. But our political dialogues lead us almost directly to a choice: either revolutionary changes (rapid, stormy, and complete, with the rejection of the system), or the old regime of orthodox classical socialism.

Any attempt by the central authorities to think, to stop, and to turn on centralized levers is interpreted by radically minded forces as a return in principle to the old ways. A chorus of voices is immediately heard about the "move to the right" by Gorbachev and all central authorities. A move to the right? But perhaps it is a move toward wisdom. Let us recall the need to combine liberalization and a strong central power. Let us recall history: How many examples and how much proof it has that excessively rapid and inconsistent changes have led to results directly opposite to those expected! How often have revolutions ended with the consolidation in power of counterrevolutionary forces!

The CPSU is the initiator of the renewal and reform of society. But with what difficulty are the renewal processes proceeding in the party itself... Now any nontraditional movement of thinking, any shift toward the new or any support for it are interpreted by the forces of the old ideology as frivolity or ideological betrayal. On coming up against the difficulties of perestroyka and what could be called "fear of growing," communists begin absolutely seriously to talk about the apostasy of the central party leadership. And not in the corridors but at meetings and in the press.

In this turn of events talk about the renewal of the CPSU becomes merely talk while the bellicosity of the new democratic free thinking is simple irresponsibility.

Under the conditions of the intensifying antagonism between the old and the new the rapid development of political cynicism is to be observed. And it is cynicism, emphatic scorn for civilized norms of political activity, which envisages, in the technique for winning public opinion and power, the slander of the other political force, the belittlement of its leaders, and various measures of outright sabotage. It is political cynicism which is provoking an eruption of thought which is pushing the other force toward an incorrect response, with the perfidious intent of exploiting that response. And here is the result: A senile tiredness, lack of receptiveness to lofty ideals, and the devaluation of spiritual values are imperceptibly creeping into people's awareness. People are ceasing to be surprised by and to rejoice in what is beautiful and are ceasing to react angrily to what is disgraceful. The gradual growth of insensitivity, the loss of the social man's capacity for compassion, empathy, and a kindly perception of those close to him leads irreversibly to stagnation in thoughts and then in deeds.

A press which uses unrestrained language is by no means a merit of society. The criticism leveled in it sometimes goes beyond any bounds of decency and, most important, it is clear to the naked eye that its purpose is either to receive an incorrect response or to experience the voluptuous ecstasy of pleasure at its own boldness. Amused at the power of a trenchant word, emancipated in every respect, the rapidly raised radicals well know that the most orthodox groups of the old forces will set about replying to them—with enthusiasm but without ability. It is these old forces whose restraint will let them down sooner than the others. They will use some strong-arm methods which, although heartfelt will be stupid and unconsidered. And then it will be possible, by promoting private declarations to the rank of lofty generalizations,

to blame again and go on blaming the leaders who head the state and, inasmuch as they are all as a rule CPSU members it will also be possible to subject the entire party to humiliating obstruction.

That is why I admit that the not always restrained line of conduct of the Communist Party unsettles me. Instead of a course toward its in-depth and consistent self renewal and thoughts of reforms in society, what often wins out in the party is concern about how to concentrate itself, how to mobilize itself to repel wits. But, counter to expectations, it is that which reduces the value of the party in public opinion, whose vector has always inclined toward the strong rather than the weak.

Unfortunately, in our country the most democratic tradition is seriously flawed. If we look deeply into that tradition's history nowhere will we find in the annals of Russian democratic thinking even a hint of recognition of the evolutionary path of development. The idea of evolution frightened our renewed 19th century democrats. To accept the world as it is and to seek in the world itself, in the reality of the very complex interweaving of social and other ties, those points, those nexuses, those trajectories which should be built in a different way, to turn so as to achieve, through patient opposition, the gradual reconstruction of life—that has always seemed unproductive to the Russian democratic tradition. The very idea of the rationality of the universe, of its capacity for self organization, was rejected as close to the principles of autocracy, imperial ambitions, and conservative egocentrism.

And now our radical minds do not even notice that they are arguing with what is the actual reality of life, with the democratic acquisitions which our reality has nonetheless gained, having overcome the force of gravity of the totalitarian past. But their self-assured call for a fundamental breakdown of absolutely all relations with the extirpation from everywhere of the very word "socialism," not to mention the practical forms of its existence, is the most conservative element in the country's political spectrum. Essentially this appeal is more conservative than any bias toward collective farms, state enterprises, public ownership, the party, and so forth. Because it demands **a full return to very old positions, to a very old past.** While persuading us that they are calling us forward the radicals are in fact leading us backward. After all, knowing our society and traditions, it is impossible even to imagine that we can suddenly move into the space which they understand as progress, into a system of modern capitalist renaissance embellished not only along its facade but also deep within by the socialist vignettes of a planned economy, justice, collectivity, and the people's welfare. It may very well come to pass that, having renounced an ideal which we have proclaimed but not yet achieved, we will plunge headlong into an era through which the developed world passed long ago—the era of the initial accumulation of capital, with all its ugly attributes and prejudices.

What does a complete break with the past 70 years and more mean? It is appropriate to recall that we have already on one occasion embarked on a complete break with one past and on its destruction to its foundations. Now we are tasting the fruit of that drastic movement toward a set goal. Restoring what has long since passed is even more absurd. We must all of us—both bellicose democrats and orthodox communists insisting on what has long been obsolete, on a revolutionary rebuttal to any dissidents and anyone whose approach is different—understand that history does not like vain and retrograde movements!

There is one way out: The increasingly polarized opposites must find in themselves the will to meet each other halfway. Having recognized the path of evolution, the path of peaceful restructuring, one side, that organized around the Communist Party, must advance more boldly toward supporting reforms and practical steps to implement them; the other side, which calls itself the democrats, in agitating for the complete repartition of the world, must not cross the sensible border of what is feasible in social transformations. After all, it is totally innocent people who suffer from extremes and inconsistency. Enough sacrifices! This ritual, inherited from the far from civilized past, in no way complies with the civilized world.

An endless struggle requires endless efforts and expenditure of people's energy, energy so necessary to the cause of creating a new quality of life. Indeed, a stable order cannot be based on the foundation of constant denial and self-destruction. Those who suppose that the destruction of the old is the inception of the future are profoundly wrong. Alas, the destruction of the old is just destruction. Destruction contains no future. Everything has to be begun again—as on the ashes of a burned down house.

At the same time, of course, everyone must bear in mind that the desire for stability should not be so strong as to prevent any changes. Such is the dialectic of life. And no one may change or remove it.

TOTALITARIANISM-AUTHORITARIANISM-DEMOCRACY. Is there a logical link between these political phenomena? Let's investigate. Today scarcely anyone will deny the need for democratic transformations of society, for a breakthrough toward civilized forms of communal living. Yes, we need genuine democracy which has nothing in common with ochlocracy—mob rule—nor with political adventurism, nor with lack of economic control. Only it is perfectly obvious that this democracy will not appear out of the blue and will not be the holy ghost. It is important to be aware of a simple truth: A certain transitional period is needed between totalitarianism (oh, how great its power of attraction is to this day!) and democracy—the power of the people through the people. What is the thrust of this transitional period? In the political sphere it is **a moderately authoritarian type of power.** I have already mentioned this at the Constituent Congress of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet

Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party. Now, a while later, I have become even more convinced of the need for an authoritative power that is centralized within sensible limits. Without this power the transition to the market is scarcely possible. That is why **the main question of the present day** is the question of the strength, functionality, and feasibility of policy and consequently of power. Policy is ultimately aimed at managing the public economy, at skillfully producing, distributing, and recreating material values. Managing in such a way as to ensure that there is less and less space left for extra-economic methods of regulating social relations. This management—flexible and firm at the same time—is a supreme art. All subjects of political relations should master it. It is to this end that the CPSU, and that is admitted even by Western observers and analysts, has freed part of the space of power for new political structures and leaders. But that space has not been completely filled with work and practical steps. Diverse political trends and groupings are unfortunately still engaged in polemical practice.

Remaining the ruling party, the CPSU can no longer view with detachment the intensifying collapse of the economy. A keen polemical policy cannot keep any economy prosperous—that has become clear to everyone. And by virtue of this and in accordance with the very logic of things the CPSU must to some degree return—and as soon as possible—to the sphere of managing the country's economic life. In its activity there should be a replacement of abstract "political-ideological" priorities with considered aspirations in economic strategy. Obviously the party cannot be authoritative today unless it has an economic line—scientifically substantiated, consistent, clear to the people, and according with their fundamental interests under the new socioglobal conditions.

Time hardly justifies those who, citing the no longer extant article six of the USSR Constitution and alleged experience of foreign socialist and social democratic parties, criticize the need for the Communist Party's particularly committed participation in economic life. Analysis shows that it is at the forums of these now authoritative West European parties that there prevail problems of the economy, of economic and social ecology, the welfare of the masses, and so forth, that is questions which are vitally (and consequently also politically) important and which perturb the entire population.

Part Two

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[Conclusion of two part article by Nikolay Stolyarov, CPSU Central Committee member, chairman of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Control Commission, under the rubric "A Polemical View": "So, What Are We To Do: On Political Realism and Economic Independence"]

[Text] WHAT IS THE COMMUNIST PARTY TO BE—no matter which angle we look at it from now, this is no longer a party problem. It concerns all of society. The CPSU is a real and powerful political force, and society surely has a stake in its being a clean, honest, and smart organization that is useful to the people.

We need a new reality—a civic society that will, in trying to meet its essential needs, combine in itself both features that are realistically achievable at this stage of the development in society of the socialist ideal and certain elements of capitalist reality. In this new reality, with the inevitable advent of the market, the Communist Party will be, by the way, precisely the force that truly makes its priority the protection of the social interests of those strata of the population that are most vulnerable in the market economy. Its work will fulfill the tasks that are in the public interest, and in this respect even so-called "party business ventures" do not present an obstacle, since the proceeds could be used to support social programs and the environmental movement, and to provide incentives for initiative and creativity.

Now, more than ever, the Communist Party has to think realistically. It is vitally important for the CPSU to master the **coalition strategy**. But not on the principle of surrounding itself with "its own" or comrades-in-spirit only. The art of coalition lies precisely in the ability to come to an agreement on common actions in the area of economic expediency and social programs with those who do not share your ideology. None other than V.I. Lenin wrote: "We support bourgeois democrats whenever they are **fighting** at least for a **small** progress" (vol.9, p.399). However, we do not want to see any progress—big or small—in each other.

It is absolutely necessary to join forces for common action that is useful to the people. Forces need to be joined in actions where consensus can be expected. Such actions, of course, would be fixing economic problems. They would have to be specific, removed from abstract-theoretical arguments. Right now each political organization probably needs to concentrate on the problem of its contribution to economic improvement. And the CPSU itself and its critics should accept as a reality the fact that the CPSU remains a ruling party in society. Therefore its responsibility for society's condition—and especially for its economic viability—is the greatest.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY HAS CHANGED DURING THE PERESTROYKA YEARS; many of our former economic notions have been fundamentally rethought. An understanding has emerged inside the party that no progress can be achieved, and no democracy can exist without economic freedom for producers (enterprises and workers) and without a change in the socialist state's attitude towards the variety of effective forms of property. At the same time, the general party line towards mixed property (with priority given to state enterprises in strategic branches) within the framework of a market-based economy is not being seriously worked out in detail; as time goes by, it acquires ever increasing

features of uncertainty. Opportunities outside its boundaries are not being pursued, although sometimes they are literally sitting right there. Proposed more or less specific programs for pulling the economy out of the crisis have never become guidelines for action. Meanwhile, something else has emerged: During the period of debates on whether there should be a market, in "shooting from the hip" we managed to destroy existing supra- and interproduction links without creating parallel guarantees for the market levers to operate. As a result, the mechanism for direct information to and feedback from a large number of medium and even large enterprises, for all practical purposes, disappeared; huge workers' collectives are essentially left to their own devices.

In tactical directions, we strive to implement approaches already tried, admitting the new in a timid, cautious, halfhearted, and inconsistent way. Here is the result: We are now facing the prospect of a society more cruel—in a socio-economic sense. Having recognized that it cannot walk away from this, the party should more decisively support models of deep radical change that take into account the experience and priorities of world development. Or it should at least seriously discuss the economic situation by creating the opportunity for the expression of all (!) the approaches, viewpoints, and attitudes that have developed in the party movement. Everything that would allow, in the shortest time possible, the feeding and clothing of the people and the provision of housing for them should be taken into account and implemented in practice—immediately. All other priorities—political and ideological—should be temporarily put on the back burner.

Today the task of working out a program to achieve a stable functioning of the totally unbalanced economy acquires truly strategic importance. It is strategic primarily from the point of view of the fate of our Fatherland: that is, ending the impoverishment of millions of our compatriots, bringing back a minimally prosperous life, and with it the faith that in the not too distant future there will be an opportunity for true prosperity.

THE TACTIC OF MOBILIZATION IS INSISTENTLY KNOCKING ON THE DOOR OF THE ECONOMIC SPHERE. The need for it—at least in the nearest future while market mechanisms take hold and gain momentum—is felt in everything. It is these tactics of mobilization that I see today the necessary economic position of both the supreme state power and all other equally subordinated links of the administration system. Let nobody shudder, whether from anger or fear, at the sound of the word "mobilization." I want to remind everyone that this word has several meanings. According to the dictionary, one meaning is to bring the population or certain branches of the national economy into a state that facilitates the accomplishment of certain tasks.

This does not mean general compulsory labor and the rigid type of command structure for administering the entire national economy that we had during the difficult war years. No, we are talking about a temporary reorganization process, centralized by presidential power, of **only the state-owned socioeconomic sector** which is the nucleus of a multisectoral economy which already exists. The purpose of such a reorganization is to ensure a decent subsistence minimum and elementary well-being for the citizens; the stabilization of the entire national-economic organism; and the preparation, in advance, of the foundation for our civilized transition to the norms of the market community. We have to finally realize and officially admit that the only place we can break into from our community poverty—no matter what fantasies it is camouflaged with—is the market of "primal barbarity."

I see mobilization as a **complex system of extraordinary measures of authoritarian centralized control and scientific regulation of the hidden reserves and mechanisms of the state economy, in order to make it functional and give it dynamism from inertia.** This should result in achieving a state in which production capacities correspond to at least the minimal needs of society (which is moving towards market relations) in consumer goods. Another aim of this tactic is to ensure the balance between the development of state-owned production capacities and the accumulation of non-consumer material resources intended to be made available in the most-preferred mode to the new socioeconomic sectors (collective, cooperative, and individual enterprises and businesses). Mobilization has precedents in world practice. It is also interesting that it has been used wherever and whenever the need for transition to a market economy has arisen.

In drawing the boundaries of the circle of state enterprises to be mobilized, it is necessary to **reject** those that are fundamentally unprofitable. These should be transferred, free of charge, to the ownership of interested workers collectives or transformed, on a preferential basis, into a joint-stock (mixed ownership) property.

Mobilization does not preclude innovation, initiative, and entrepreneurship. Its effectiveness depends in direct proportion on the firm and consistent state orientation to market relations, on the one hand, and on the daring of the organizers of production and their ability to more or less flexibly respond to market demand on the other. It is evident that many of them are still entrenched in the habit of all-encompassing command planning. It is not easy to eliminate something that has become a part of one's flesh and blood. But we should not rush, either; we should not fully weed out the old until the soil is ready for the new. In order to accustom administrators to working without a plan imposed from above, a Gosplan [State Planning Committee] double—an institute with new information, control, and advisory functions—could be created, with the aim of eventually abolishing the former. To mobilize and effectively use the resources of the state sector, one needs exhaustive and comprehensive (not fictitious) information on production capacities and production load at remaining state enterprises, on unused and uninstalled equipment, on never completed capital construction projects, on the moral and physical

obsolescence of capital assets and equipment, and so on, and so on. No administration system can work effectively without timely and precise information.

It is also important to utilize foreign experience in the area of standardizing large enterprises, which assumes that the main production lines and the entire enterprise be supplied by subsidiary manufacturing and dispersed small contractor-enterprises that operate within the boundaries of standardized technological orders.

Modern mobilization in the state economy is impossible without scientific knowledge and calculations of the optimum need for a specially skilled labor force, and without developing a system of material incentives.

TODAY INTELLECTUALS ARE ESPECIALLY NEEDED FOR THE PERESTROYKA PROCESS. Perestroyka itself can be seen as an intellectual impulse of society that began some time ago. In today's more complex social circumstances we must, with a full degree of political realism, absorb the fact that we cannot do without our intellectual fund—which, alas, is being blamed for all our misfortunes. We should not try to dump absolute responsibility for the country's difficulties on allegedly destructive radicalism, and on the contradictory character and inconsistency of our scientific community. Our scientists are our scientists. We do not have any other.

We are paying a high practical price for ignoring science! It is not rare at our party forums to see rejection and contempt for scientists, to hear conversations about the "rotten" intelligentsia, and to see original and nontraditional approaches to social problems hounded. Long ago, Dmitriy Merezhkovskiy said in his article "The Coming of the Great Unwashed" that of all the sad and frightening phenomena Russian society has to live through, the saddest and most frightening is the barbaric hounding of the intelligentsia. "There truly is something suicidal in this hounding, something that borders on violent lunacy which needs not reasoned arguments, but a straight-jacket." It is a pity that these words still sound current!

It is natural that during periods of public "seething" and a rise in political activity scientists also jump into politics. It is probably good since they, of course, are not among the last people who are privy to the truth. However, under current circumstances no scrupulous scientists can offer society a plan that will be acceptable to all. The lack of desire or the inability to understand this gives rise to bitterness. But scientists should not resent society for not understanding them. Their fate is to be above it. Bitterness should be replaced by patience, tolerance, composure, and the search for ways to move one's idea forward and to implement it—first in an experiment, and then on a wider basis.

We should not resent the scientists, either. Society may only express regret that it does not see serious results from their participation in politics and government. And stop and think: Why? After all, many of our scientists are known world-wide. Perhaps, their relations with society and the power holders have been put on a wrong footing. And the Communist Party is worse than most at this. If anything happens, there is an immediate condemnation. Our orthodoxy can put everything upside down. He who is not with us is against us, they say. We have already gone through all this. All of it. We also know the results. I say this not because of my position as chairman of the Central Control Commission, which makes it my duty to protect the rights of the minority in the party, but also because it is obvious: It was a mistake to squeeze people who thought in nontraditional ways out of the party. Now, instead of applying their intellect, abilities, and energy to the economic and cultural rebirth of the country, a cause common to us all, they are engaged in a struggle against the CPSU—a struggle forced upon them and one dangerous for the fate of democracy. All this despite the fact that they seem to want the same thing as the CPSU—a society that is more productive and has more respect in the world. When will we stop turning benevolent confidantes into dangerous competitors?

Also worrisome is our own semi-literacy. Party and soviet personnel, administrators, and deputies sometimes display an almost hostile attitude towards science, especially towards serious theories. It is true that scientists also could be more realistic and consider the fact that resistance to change is often objective, and objective resistance is a complex phenomenon.

It is sad that researchers do not always strive for scrupulous, objective, and responsible analysis. How should one, for instance, interpret this explanation of the widespread fear of changes? A.S. Tsipko writes, "God forbid, some people here think the situation will change and private property will emerge; beware—this will separate the poor and the rich, and this means that the world will see who are fools and who are smart..." Does this mean that from now on we will only be able to tell the fools from the smart ones by their riches?

We should assist the development of entrepreneurship, of course, since we have taken a course towards a market economy; but if those who have big money today and who are able to buy a lot will be revered by us as born-again great brains, all of us—supporters of democracy and justice—will remain fools for the rest of our lives.

ON INCENTIVES TO WORK. We have to admit that the years of perestroyka still have not awakened the material interest of the state enterprise employee in his work as a means of self-realization. Today it is simply necessary to raise salaries for all categories of workers in the state sectors; the money should come from shrinking the system of existing withholdings from enterprises for fiscal purposes and from minimizing the wrongful levies that go to fictitious social funds. The loss of the unreal nature of these funds will not reflect in any way on the well-being of the families of state enterprise employees; an evidence of that is the labor and everyday life experience of, say, individual producers, farmers, or

members of cooperatives. Meanwhile in the USSR in the environment of transition to a market economy the state employee, whether laborer or office worker, should receive not a fifth of what is produced by his hands and brains, but, as a minimum, two thirds, as is done in the far from socialist Japan. At the same time, the wage fluctuations of each person should be made in direct proportion to the degree of his participation in labor and the income from the product sold by his enterprise. Communists should finally understand that empty talk of expressing "fundamental (what is this one about?) interests of the working class" will not keep the workers at state enterprises well-fed.

In the approaching environment of predominantly market relations, employee earnings will be especially important for state enterprises, since income (and nobody and nothing else) will become the main guarantee of the socioeconomic protection of their families.

Mobilization of state sector reserves and its subsequent transition to the market economy is possible—and this is obvious—only through the transfer of the administration of all economic entities on all levels into professionally skilled hands. There is only one conclusion: What is needed is a cardinal rethinking of party policy on cadre promotion and support in all structures of economic administration and not, by the way, just economic. People power should harmonize with the golden pool of the political elite which needs to be created, nourished, and assigned into all vitally important spheres of social life. What, for instance, did George Bush do when he came to power? He did not concentrate the team which had assured his ascent to power around him in the White House; he rationally assigned them to all administrative structures. By doing that he strengthened his position and the position of his party.

WOULD NOT MOBILIZATION RESULT IN THE SHRINKING OF ECONOMIC FREEDOMS AND DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES IN THE COUNTRY? This is a very important question. We should be very careful, but very decisive and consistent during the phase of development and implementation of mobilization. There is no need to be afraid of accusations of strengthening authoritarian tendencies during the phase of transition to the market. Such accusations can come both from people far removed from political science and from the dealers, or, by S. Stankevich's accurate characterization, "the junta-like layer of Latin American types acting in legal and semi-legal ways." It is hard to imagine that our actions—limited exclusively to the state sector—will be misunderstood by thinking Western economists who are sympathetic to us, or even more by "young" Soviet entrepreneurs (intellectual administrators, stockholders, managers, farmers, etc.). They will be the ones who will clearly understand that "mobilization" in the state economy is not an antidemocratic goal unto itself, but a way for presidential power to clear obstructions on the path to market reform in the national economy. The president must bring back the lost strategic manageability of the state economy by the supreme institution of executive power. Not to recognize this means veering off the road to reform, away from democratic goals; it means the support of economic chaos and the unpredictability of revolutionary explosions.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE? Why does the center remain inactive and not issue recommendations on how to conduct our work in the current difficult conditions? I often hear these puzzled and indignant questions during my meetings in collectives (on the average 10-12 meetings a month).

The center, of course, can and should be criticized—for being slow in its work, for the absence of forecasts, etc. Nor should the center resent requests from below. The idea of power to the party masses does not preclude the coordination from above of the efforts of these masses.

It would be possible, of course, in responding to requests from below, to act in the old way: namely, to formulate and send to the party organizations a whole array of banalities such as "to strengthen," "to improve," "to increase," etc. But is it possible to put a multifaceted life into a procrustean bed of formalizations and recommendations? We should learn to go from the whole to the particular, which, by the way, is the idea of this whole article. How can one try to solve specific problems without solving the general ones first? That is why we all need to think realistically. Without this no recommendations or proclamations from the center will help. Today the center—the one that coordinates, brings us together, keeps the Fatherland from disintegration—is itself in need of help. I ask you, what other arguments are needed to understand a simple truth: **The disintegration of the Union is just one more, and perhaps the last, step towards the national catastrophe?!**

* * *

I request that the honorarium for this article be sent to the Culture Fund.

Fundamentals of Civil Legislation Published

91UN0783A

For the text of the Draft Fundamentals of Civil Legislation published in IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jan 91 Union Edition pp 2-5 see JPRS-UPA-91-011 of 1 March 1991.

Economic

Donetsk Miners Demand Gorbachev Resignation

PM1004195591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Apr 91 Union Edition p 3

[Report by Nikolay Lisovenko under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Miners' Rally"]

[Text] Donetsk—A four-hour meeting organized by the "Donetskugol" production association strike committee has been held in Donetsk's Lenin Square.

Speakers spoke about the grave situation with regard to food and industrial goods, the inconceivably high prices, the poverty of the people, and the fact that those who have brought the country to ruin must be called to account. Calls for the resignation of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR president were made. Other political demands were also voiced.

Nine out of 21 mines and mining administrations are no longer working. The miners of some enterprises are hesitating over what to do. The "Trudovskaya" mine, for example, is sometimes working, sometimes striking.

Vorkuta Miners Demand 30 Percent Spending Cut

LD1104075491 Moscow TASS in English 0744 GMT 11 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow April 11 TASS—The situation in the main coal-mining regions of the Soviet Union remains tense.

Twenty two out of 122 mines were on strike in the Donetsk region, south-east of the Ukraine, on April 10. Even after negotiations with the government, miners show no signs of compromise. In addition to economic demands, they keep insisting that the president and prime minister of the country resign.

All 12 pits at the Ukrzapadugol Association, Western Ukraine, remain on strike.

The Vorkuta mine Khalmer-Yu halted the shipment of coal to customers. Pit workers at already 12 mines in Vorkuta joined the stoppage. The losses sustained by the Vorkutaugol Association totalled 636,000 tonnes.

All five mines in Inta, another city in the Pechora coalfield, and other enterprises of the Intaugol concern are in operation.

Miners in Vorkuta held a city rally on Wednesday. The rally adopted a resolution containing the demands that the Soviet parliament be dissolved, a coalition government of popular trust be set up and the spending on the military-industrial complex be reduced by 30 per cent.

Kuzbass Committee Decides To Continue Strike

PM1004195191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Apr 91 Union Edition p 3

["Direct Line" report by Viktor Kostyukovskiy: "Kuzbass Strike Committee Decides To Continue Strike"]

[Text] Kemerovo—The Kuzbass Strike Committees Council has decided to continue the political strike, in which around 100 Kemerovo Oblast enterprises are involved in one form or another.

The decision states that the miners' all-union political strike is spreading and the collectives of other sectors are joining in it. In these conditions the disregard of working people's political demands by union organs of power is deepening the crisis in the country. The council deems it essential to support the efforts of the interrepublic group to work out a mechanism to meet the miners' demands which is being set up by decision of the Congress of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputies. This group could be the prototype for a federation council capable of creating a government that enjoys the confidence of the people and signing the Union treaty. It has been decided to send representatives of the strike committees council to work in this group.

In response to the appeals for the dispatch of fuel received from power industry workers, metallurgists, and other coal consumers, the striking enterprises have been instructed to toughen up monitoring of coal shipments and to set up delivery groups in the cities.

The council decided to continue the strike until the interrepublic parliamentary group starts work and produces "positive results."

Meanwhile, public transport drivers staged a warning strike in the oblast center.

Strikes Spell 'Catastrophe' for Chelyabinsk Plant

PM1004200191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Apr 91 Union Edition p 3

[Georgiy Shcherbina report: "On the Verge of Stopping"]

[Text] Chelyabinsk—A report from the Chelyabinsk Metallurgical Combine: Coal deliveries from the Kuzbass have been halted, and the enterprise is threatened with catastrophe.

Coal stocks have dwindled helplessly, which has paralyzed the coke byproduct unit. Its furnaces are now working at a rate which only just prevents their cooling down and complete stoppage, which would be fraught with inevitable destruction.

In turn the shortage of coke has already led to the shutdown of four out of the five blast furnaces. Because of the absence of fuel a large converter shop and bar and shape mills have ceased production, and open-hearth shops and blooming mills are working at half-capacity. The bill for the losses already runs into the millions.

Strike Leader Presses for Talks

PM1004082391 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Apr 91 p 1

[A. Yermakov report: "Kemerovo: Miners Decide To Stay Out Until End"]

[Text] Yesterday representatives from Armenia arrived at the Kuzbass Oblast Workers' (Strike) Committee. They handed over 60,000 rubles collected by the republic's inhabitants in a strikers support fund. And the other day an airplane from Tbilisi arrived here with 50 tonnes of food...

As of 8 April 64 coal mines, six open-cut mines, three enriching factories, and 12 mine construction organizations in the Kuzbass were idle. In other words, the talks on the situation with the prime minister had no effect.

"We were not putting forward economic demands," Council [of Strike Committees] Chairman Vyacheslav Golikov told me. "Neither did we ask for our wages to be doubled, as Pavlov is promising. Especially as this SOP applies only to enterprises which had fulfilled the plan as of 1 April—that is, not to striking collectives.

"The miners are staying out and will stay out until the proposal of the last Congress of Russian People's Deputies is implemented—to assemble an interparliamentary group of representatives of authorities from all willing republics for talks focusing on a clear delimitation of powers. Only when this roundtable starts and works constructively can there be talk of ending the strike."

Vorkuta Mine, Rail Workers Hold Talks

LD1004034491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2050 GMT 9 Apr 91

[Text] The representatives of the Vorkuta town worker's committee met with railway workers. The following was stated to the leaders of the striking mines: The losses, due to the shortages of coal freight at the Vorkuta branch of the North Railway Network, amounted to more than 2 milion rubles in March. The railway works maintain the right to demand compensation for the losses.

Railroads Hit By Declining Economy, Strike

PM1004104391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Apr 91 Second Edition p 2

[Article signed "PRAVDA collective correspondent—GUDOK editorial board": "They Are Sounding the Alarm on the Railroads"]

[Text] Every day, concerned reports are coming into the GUDOK editorial office concerning the fall in the rate of the transportation of freight as a result of the drop in the production of industrial and food products in a number of sectors of the national economy and the continuing miners' strikes.

In their telegram, the workers of the Kemerovo main line stated with bitterness that whereas in normal conditions they dispatched around 450,000 tonnes of coal a day to consumers, now this indicator has been nearly halved. Around 40,000 railcars were not loaded in March, and railroad workers' losses amounted to several million rubles [R]. In addition they have to send the now unnecessary empty railcars—which many railroads send here from the European part of the country—wherever they can. An unheard-of situation: Empty trains have been traveling from the east to the west of the country.

The Novolipetskiy metallurgical combine found itself in a critical situation, as did the Yelets section of the southeast railroad that serves it. In March alone miners short-delivered metallurgical workers by around 150,000 tonnes of concentrate and almost 100,000 tonnes of coking coals. The combine is on the verge of stopping, and the losses on this section of the railroad alone come to nearly R5 million. The leaders of the section sent telegrams to the USSR Cabinet of Ministers and the leadership of the Ministry of Railways in which they appeal to miners to quickly start work so as not to plunge the country's economy into an unavoidable catastrophe.

Irresponsibility has become a distinguishing feature of not just the miners but also the collectives of many enterprises which are cutting the production of individual goods. Railroad workers of the Moscow main line felt this very severely, as they were short by 8 percent of freight in the first quarter compared with the same period last year. Accordingly every eighth train driver or his assistant had to be temporarily suspended from work. Is this not a warning of impending unemployment?

Locomotive teams are now standing idle in many areas of the country. The leaders of Sverdlovsk, West Siberian, Azerbaijani, and other railroads spoke about this at a phone-in investigation. Compared with the first quarter of last year, which was not conspicuous by its high indicators by any means, the total volume of freight dispatched on the whole network declined by 77.7 million tonnes, including freight for the state by 50.5 million.

Workers on the Baltic railroad are working in the face of incongruent Union and republic laws. Because of the unstable situation in the area (like in the Transcaucasus, incidentally) the scale of passenger transportation falling. The chiefs of these railroads are already being forced to cancel a number of trains. And although as a whole the plan for passenger traffic in the country was fulfilled by 101.6 percent in the first quarter, it decreased by 2.6 percent compared with the same period last year.

It is all exacerbating the situation in the country, because directly or indirectly it affects the work of individual transport collectives and the sector as a whole. On over 20 railroads the profit was lower than last year's. And this is leading to a situation whereby a great many of them are already working at their own loss.

Deputy Trade Minister on Shortages, New Prices

PM1004142991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Apr 91 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with P. Kondrashov, USSR first deputy trade minister, by Ye. Sorokin; place and date not given: "The Miracle Has Not Happened: New Prices: An Informed Opinion"]

[Text] "Today, the fifth day since the raising of prices, some preliminary conclusions can already be drawn. The most distressing of them is that although prices have risen there is still nothing to trade in. All the talk about warehouses and storerooms crammed with goods were just more idle gossip seized on by the radical mass

media," P. Kondrashov, USSR first deputy trade minister, said in conversation with PRAVDA's correspondent.

A check was carried out in Moscow 2 April at all RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Trade Ministry wholesale trade bases and Moscow trade depots, he went on, in which USSR deputy trade ministers, main administration chiefs, and Internal Affairs Ministry and USSR KGB staffers took part. During the check it came to light that goods left in stock amounted to between 2.7 percent and 66 percent of the normative figure depending on the type of product. Our main problem—the shortage of goods—remains acute. That is understandable. After all, at the beginning of the year stocks were down by 12 billion rubles [R].

That is inevitable unless emergency measures to increase the production of goods and food are adopted. But the statistics are extremely alarming. This year food deliveries are planned to rise by 3-4 percent but contracts worth over R7 billion have still not been concluded. As a result in the first 2 months of this year trade experienced a shortfall of R2 billion in supplies of food. A critical situation is developing in the supply of light industry output. Stocks of goods bought by the trade network amounted to just R36 billion, or R12.7 billion less than last year's actual level.

To give PRAVDA readers a full picture of the "abundance" at the bases I shall cite a few figures. Deliveries of cultural, consumer, and household goods to trade were planned at a volume of R134 billion. Contracts worth almost R8 billion have still not been concluded. For the first time in recent years the supply of these goods fell by R0.5 billion. A new deficit is looming which I would like to warn about in advance so that trade is not blamed for it again.

[Sorokin] But perhaps trade organizations have simply not had time to reassess their goods? And a second question—were price ceilings established everywhere in accordance with the Cabinet of Ministers resolution?

[Kondrashov] I shall answer your second question first. In a number of republics higher price ceilings have been set for certain goods. The accusations against trade which are already being heard in a number of places are groundless because local trade organizations in this instance are merely carrying out their governments' orders.

The Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee has adopted the proposed maximum price levels. The contract prices for food introduced earlier have been rescinded.

Did trade workers have time to carry out a reassessment? Unfortunately no. The exaggerated demand which developed last year is continuing through inertia now, too. Admittedly, people are no longer taking whole boiled sausages away but there are still waiting lines in the manufactured goods stores. For example, in Minsk on 2 April imported men's suits were being sold at R500 each (against the old price of R185) and home-produced ones at R450 (R140-R160 previously). They went like hot cakes.

The only conclusion of which I am sure at present is that the inordinate demand for foodstuffs has subsided. In the past few days we have kept dozens of stores in the most diverse parts of the country under observation. The buying up of bread, sugar, flour, cereals, and canned goods has stopped.

But I want to issue a warning—you cannot stabilize the economy merely by raising prices. Everything must be done to increase the production of foodstuffs and industrial goods. If the shelves remain empty with the present prices this threatens grave social upheaval.

Ingredients of Budget Crisis Examined

PM1004155991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Apr 91 Union Edition p 1

[M. Berger report: "Games on Edge of Budget Abyss"]

[Text] The appeal to the USSR president from V. Kucherenko, Soviet of the Union commission chairman; V. Orlov, minister of finance; and V. Gerashchenko, chairman of the USSR State Bank, which was circulated in the Union parliament 2 April and which has already been christened "letter of the three," made more than a strong impression on everyone, but only outside our country's borders. Western information agencies and observers are ardently discussing and commenting on the USSR budget crisis, while our own politicians as well as public attention are occupied with various other things considered by them to be more important.

There is no need to point out that we lag behind many other countries not just in the level and pace of economic development but also in how deeply the fundamental problems are understood. Even the appeal on this score adopted 4 April from Union legislators to the republic Supreme Soviets does not take away the feeling that the imminent budget catastrophe is not regarded as the ultimate economic disaster. There have been many appeals on various themes, but they often fall below expectations when it comes to effectiveness, and this case is on a par with sending a letter through the post to summon firemen to the scene of a fire.

It could be suggested that for many people the figures for the USSR state budget deficit for the first quarter—31.1 billion rubles (almost 4 billion more than the approved figure for the whole year)—are no more than an abstraction. However, the warning that it will be impossible to finance the national economy and social sphere and to maintain the Army in the second quarter, which in fact began at the beginning of this April, should have provoked a swift reaction...

What we need is a normal healthy fright of our lives, if we can use that expression. Today republics are transferring less than a third of the planned sum to the Union budget. The explanation forwarded at the USSR Supreme Soviet session that this situation is caused by a fall in production is hardly acceptable. The fall in production is probably significantly greater than the figures released by the State Committee for Statistics indicate, but nowhere near enough to warrant a two-thirds fall in revenue. The main reason is that republics are solving their problems thus: Funding expensive localized social programs or demonstrating economic sovereignty and independence. Complaints against the center for its mistakes in finance policy are possible and necessary. But it is impossible, for example, to disagree with economist S. Aleksashenko, who writes in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA that our budget expenditure has exceeded the bounds of common sense. In his estimation, its share of Gross National Product has increased from 56 percent last year to 75 percent this year, which in itself leads to an enormous budget deficit. However, it is impossible to implement a completely independent localized economic policy, irrespective of how "right" or "wrong" it is, using common financial resources.

Regional financial problems cannot be solved separately from all the rest while there remains a single monetary unit and a single monetary system. Bumping up money circulation through credit to regional authorities or commercial banks can only worsen the general state of finances. The only sensible option in such conditions is not to succumb to the temptation to spend money on oneself and to agree to strictly coordinate activities in the sphere of finance and credit policy. There are no firm guarantees that, even having reached agreement, we will get out of the crisis, only that without agreement we will end up at the bottom of an abyss—of that there is no doubt. This means either a common currency and an agreed policy entailing strict sanctions against those who violate the agreements, or full independence, but then of course with one's own bank notes and banking system.

The Federation Council is discussing the budget problem 9 April. What is the possible outlook here? V. Gerashchenko, chairman of USSR State Bank, thinks that if it is just a matter of misunderstanding the seriousness of the disease then there is hope, after investing time and effort in the diagnosis, of coming to a common decision. But if the problem lies in a consciously implemented policy, then hopes for recovery are few.

New Foreign Currency Rules Explained

PM1104143591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Apr 91 Union Edition p 2

[I. Zhagel article: "Foreign Exchange At Market Rates"]

[Text] The USSR law "On Foreign Currency Regulation" comes into force 1 April 1991 in accordance with a USSR Supreme Soviet resolution. This normative act stipulates that all operations on the USSR's domestic foreign-currency market connected with the buying and selling of foreign exchange will be executed at market rates.

Legal entities—that is, enterprises—have actually been buying foreign exchange at USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity [Vneshekonombank] foreign-currency auctions for some months. A similar procedure is now being introduced for all individuals, as it were, too. Naturally, the so-called "tourist rate" of approximately six rubles [R] to the dollar, which had been used by Soviet citizens to buy foreign currency for business trips or private travel abroad, is thereby abolished.

To amplify the law "On Foreign Currency Regulation" the USSR Gosbank [State Bank] has issued new "Regulations Governing the Purchase and Sale (Transfer) of Foreign Currency for Foreign Travel by Citizens Using Their Own Personal Resources." These regulations stipulate that correspondingly licensed commercial banks will sell foreign currency to citizens and buy it at the current market rate prevailing on the USSR Gosbank's foreign-exchange market. The first trades done in the market 1 April fixed the dollar at R27.6.

It should be added that, for the time being, the new regulations maintain the restrictions on the amount of foreign currency that can be sold to citizens. When traveling abroad on private business (on vacation, for medical treatment, on a tourist trip, to visit relatives living abroad, to visit relatives' graves, and so forth) foreign currency equivalent to $200 can be obtained once per calendar year from authorized banks on production of a general citizen's foreign passport. For emigration purposes a sum equivalent to $100 can be obtained for each emigrant.

The norms for the sale of foreign currency to citizens will be amended by the USSR Gosbank depending on the state of the USSR's domestic foreign-currency market. Withdrawals of foreign currency from enterprises' foreign-currency accounts to pay for business travel expenses will be carried out as usual.

As for the banks licensed to service the foreign-currency requirements of Soviet and foreign citizens on Soviet territory, these are the USSR Agro-Industrial Bank, the AvtoVAZbank [expansion unknown], the USSR Vneshekonombank, the International Moscow Bank, the Mosbiznesbank [expansion unknown], the USSR Bank for Industrial Construction, the "Ukraina AK" republic joint-stock commercial agro-industrial bank, the USSR Workers' Savings and Credit Bank, the Tartu Commercial Bank, and the Tallinn Union Baltic Bank.

USSR Draft Legislation on Privatization

914A0564A

For the USSR draft legislation on privatization, which was published in the February 1991 EKONOMIKA I

ZHIZN No. 7, see the JPRS Report Soviet Union: Economic Affairs, JPRS-UEA-91-017, dated 8 April 1991, pages 3-9.

Scientific

30th Anniversary of Gagarin Flight Celebrated

Gorbachev Praises Gagarin

LD1004172791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1355 GMT 10 Apr 91

[Speech by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev at a meeting held in the Hall of Columns in the House of the Union in Moscow, marking the 30th anniversary of Yuriy Gagarin's space flight—live]

[Text] Dear comrades, esteemed guests. We have gathered here to mark an outstanding event in the life of our country, and without any kind of exaggeration, in the history of mankind's entire civilization. Thirty years ago on a spring day in April, a citizen of the Soviet Union, military pilot Yuriy Alekseyevich Gagarin, opened up the epoch of man's flights in space. The history of Gagarin's personal feat can be set out in just two to three phrases: a working boy from the Russian Non-Chernozem Zone becomes a first-class pilot; masters the newest, highest world-standard equipment. From the Baykonur cosmodrome, built on the expanses of Soviet Kazakhstan, he is the first to lift off to an unprecedented height over the Earth, flying around it in just 108 minutes.

This event, which many at the time considered to be a Russian miracle, became in actual fact a natural continuation of the flight of the creative thought of Tsiolkovskiy, Korolev, Keldysh, and many other outstanding fatherland scientists and designers. This was also the result of the indefatigable inventive work of hundreds of thousands of engineers, technicians, workers, and specialists from practically all branches of knowledge.

Gagarin's flight turned into one of the greatest feats of our multinational Soviet people. It is doubly fitting to recall this today, for we—however much somebody might want it—cannot become like Ivan the Forgetful. Faith in the strength of the people of a great country, the spirit of patriotism, grateful memory of those who created the might and glory of the fatherland are not for anyone to cross out.

Soviet space research remains a fusion of science, technology, and industry, enjoying world recognition. Great thanks are due to all those who are involved in the development of this leading area of the country's scientific and technical progress. Particular gratitude is due to the whole detachment of cosmonauts for whom there is no room on the Presidium. Health and courage to each of you, dear comrades. We warmly congratulate your wives, your families and all of your relatives and friends. I hope that our good wishes for a successful flight will also reach Viktor Afanasyev and Musa Manarov, who are currently performing their watch in Earth orbit. May they hear the warm greetings from this festive hall. The most sincere words of gratitude are due to the remarkable veterans of space rocket technology—I met many of them here just now, just before the opening—and I was glad to see them healthy, and taking an active part in this festive meeting.

The achievements of space research have firmly entered our everyday lives. These include space communications and television systems, the use of space equipment in land surveying, geology, meteorology, navigation. The present and future of space research means the latest technology for obtaining new medical preparations, ultra-pure materials for electronics, composite materials, ecological monitoring, the elaboration of new principles in using solar energy, and much, much more. The successes of space research, and the beneficial yield which they bring in various spheres of the national economy are the fruits of cooperation and the common asset of all the republics, all the peoples of our Soviet Union.

As president of the Soviet Union I have to stress in particular the great contribution by space research to the reliable defense of the country, to monitoring the fulfillment of international agreements on arms cuts and confidence-building measures. Our space science and technology is, as never before, now wide open for international cooperation. The Soviet Union favors access for all countries to space information under the aegis of the United Nations, and is ready to make its resources available for this.

We favor continuing the development of joint space research with the United States, with European countries, China, India, and Japan, literally with all interested states and organizations. In this connection I warmly and cordially welcome the cosmonauts and astronauts present who have come to our celebrations from many foreign countries.

The prospects of international cooperation are mutually favorable, especially in connection with the conversion of the huge intellectual and production potential of a number of leading sectors of our defense complex. It is sufficient to speak, for instance, of the possibilities of the joint use with foreign partners, of space platforms for reliable and universally accessible telephone and radio communications, and of universal information systems which can be created with the help of the unique-capacity, ecologically clean Energiya rocket.

On the eve of International Space Day I wish to express the confidence that the space science, technology, and industry of the Soviet Union, given the necessary state and public support, will be able, in conditions of peace, to bring our people, and not only them, more and more tangible and useful results in all spheres of human life.

Allow me to consider this festive meeting of scientists, designers, workers, military experts, cosmonauts and

astronauts, devoted to the 30th anniversary of the space flight of Yuriy Alekseyevich Gagarin, as open.

More on Celebration

LD0904221791 Moscow TASS in English 1718 GMT 9 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova]

[Text] Moscow April 9 TASS—The planet's first cosmonaut Yuriy Gagarin dreamed that outer space would serve vital interests of people, peace, progress and cooperation between all peoples.

A news conference devoted to the 30th anniversary of Gagarin's space flight at the Soviet Foreign Ministry press centre today reflected a common understanding that his dreams were coming true.

Speakers said the world celebrated April 12, the date of Gagarin's flight, as the world day of aviation and cosmonautics. After Gagarin's flight, 245 cosmonauts and astronauts made space flights, including 69 Soviet cosmonauts.

"We intend to build space production complexes to carry out a large-scale programme in the interests of various branches of the national economy," said chief designer of the Association Energia Yuriy Semenov.

He said that one of the tasks of the Soviet cosmonautics is to implement a space exploration programme at the orbital space complex Mir.

The station is now being operated by Viktor Afanasyev and Musa Manarov.

Semenov denounced appeals to curtail space programmes because of economic difficulties in the country. "I am sure this is a wrong and incompetent opinion," he said.

Oleg Shishkin, the Soviet minister of general machine-building, told the news conference that the Soviet Union and the United States should pool efforts in exploring and conquering outer space.

He said that state subsidies for the Soviet space exploration programme were constantly decreasing. In 1989, the government allocated 6.9 billion Roubles for this purpose and in 1991 the sum shrank to 6.3 billion Roubles.

Vladimir Shatalov, the head of the cosmonaut training centre, said that a space ship with a Soviet-British crew was scheduled to blast off on May 12, 1991.

The Soviet space agency is planning joint space flights with Austrian, German and French cosmonauts this year and is now negotiating a joint flight with U.S. partners.

Kursk AES Reactor Shut Down

PM1004202191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Apr 91 Union Edition p 1

[From IZVESTIYA, TASS, REUTER, and UPI news roundup: "Maintenance Personnel Make Mistake at AES Station Just Once"]

[Text] One of the power units of the Kursk AES [nuclear electric power station] was shut down early in the morning of 10 April. The reason was a mistake made by maintenance personnel, who got confused about where they should be working and as a result cut off the power supply to the reactor control system in the fourth power unit. Fortunately, the protection system and all the automatic equipment operated normally. The result of the "mistake" was that the unit was shut down. Your IZVESTIYA correspondent was informed by the USSR State Committee for Supervision of Safe Working Practices in Industry and the Atomic Power Industry that the incident produced no radiation discharge at all.

Space Center Official Outlines Future Plans

LD1004210191 Moscow TASS in English 2044 GMT 10 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova]

[Text] Moscow April 10 TASS—We intend to expand our Mir space station, Deputy Chief Flight Controller Viktor Blagov told TASS.

Early next year, he said, we plan to launch the Spektr module outfitted with optical equipment for zonal photography from space, and at the end of 1992 and the beginning of 1993 the Priroda international ecological module is due to be launched into orbit.

In the future we hope to build production facilities in space to carry out large-scale programmes in the interests of various branches of the national economy. I believe that they will consist of re-entry laboratory modules.

Team work on board mutli-purpose orbital stations will form the basis of the national space research programme.

In this way, possibilities for research will be expanded and more complex tasks will be set for crews. Specialists say that these tasks will be too much of a burden for a crew of two to tackle.

I must say, Viktor Blagov continued to say, that the present crew has retained high work ability and interest in the fulfillment of the programme. Viktor Afanasyev and Musa Manarov have already worked in open space three times and successfully coped with all the tasks. Recently they asked for the permission to work outside the space station for the fourth time. The mission control centre is prepared to comply with their request.

On April 12, when the 30th anniversary of man's first flight to space will be marked, the present crew will work

aboard the Mir station. They are due to perform a very responsible task of modifying the craft's orbit. They will be able to take time off on April 13 or 14.

"Much complex and responsible work lies ahead," Viktor Blagov noted. "The ferry now docked to the station will have to be undocked and then drowned in the ocean. It does not seem to be too much of a task after 49 previous operations of this kind. But this time around, we used up all the fuel aboard the progress ferry during the three attempts at docking and the Mir orbit can no longer be modified at the expense of the ferry. An original decision has been taken: This time the station will share its stock of fuel with the progress craft and its engines will be used to push the station to a higher orbit".

Military

Conference on Chemical Weapons Opens in Moscow

LD0904222191 Moscow TASS in English 2204 GMT 9 Apr 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Mikhail Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow April 9 TASS—An international conference on chemical weapons opened in Moscow today.

Its participants will discuss the conclusion of an international convention banning chemical weapons, the role of the public and parliamentarians in speeding up its signing, the elimination of chemical weapons and ecological safety of facilities for destroying chemical agents.

The conference was organised by the Commission for International Security and Disarmament under the Soviet Peace Protection Committee.

The conference is being attended by experts from the Soviet Defence Ministry, Soviet and Russian parliamentarians, leading Soviet scientists and specialists from the Stockholm International Institute for Peace Research.

The commission's head Viktor Israelyan stressed that the conference did not replace official Soviet-U.S. or multilateral talks and aimed to work out mutually acceptable recommendations at experts level, speeding up the signing of a multilateral convention banning chemical weapons.

Nikita Smidovich, a departmental head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Administration for Arms Limitation and Disarmament, said that participants managed to reach agreement on some major provisions of the future document, including obligations to ban the production of chemical weapons.

The sides practically settled issues pertaining to the gradual destroying of chemical agents and worked out general ecological requirements to facilities for destroying chemical agents.

The document envisages an international control over the implementation of the convention.

Smidovich said the sides had not yet found ways to ensure an effective control over the implementation of the convention without a detriment to the national security of each country.

The conference will also consider some technical problems relating to the compiling of a list of to-be-banned chemical weapons and facilities.

Current talks focus mostly on political issues, including a mechanism for imposing sanctions against violations of the convention, aid to people affected by chemical weapons, the promotion of a universal character of the convention and measures against countries refusing to join the convention for a long time.

Military Experts View Air Defense in Gulf War

91UM0543A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Apr 91 First Edition p 1

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Col. O. Falichev report on KRASNAYA ZVEZDA roundtable: "The Shilka Versus the B-52: Experience Gained From the Gulf War"]

[Text] **The results and nature of the combat actions in the Gulf War are still awaiting careful analysis by the military and the politicians... Meanwhile, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA is receiving letters from readers asking even now for an evaluation of one force or another, and for a report on how combat equipment and arms performed. S. Turko from Kiev asks, for instance: Why did the Iraqi air defenses—equipped mostly by Soviet SAM units—not show itself in action. "Our advisers were there, too. Did they train the Iraqis right, or were they more concerned about how to stuff their suitcases?" he asks at the end of his letter.**

To answer this and other questions, the editors conducted a "roundtable." The participants in the discussion were Col. Strelkov, a senior officer from one of the administrations in the Staff Headquarters of the Air Defense Forces who is involved in operational-tactical research; Col. V. Suzdaltsev, deputy chief of staff of the Air Defense Forces of the ground forces; and Col. (Reserve) V. Zherdetskiy, a military specialist in Iraq from 1987 to 1990.

[Zherdetskiy] I will start this discussion, if you do not mind. And here is why. We have to make it clear at the outset: There were no Soviet military advisers in Iraq, only military specialists. Judging from Comrade Turko's letter, he does not see the distinction between these two terms. There is a difference, however, and it is substantial. Advisers work with unit commanders and are, for all practical purposes, the same commanders with parallel powers. They have access to documents and personnel, have the powers of control and participation in combat work. In short, their role is far more important and involves greater responsibility than that of specialists. As

for me, I went there as an authorized representative to assist in warranty service of the equipment...

[Falichev] Still, how well was Iraq equipped in terms of air defense? Which of our air defense systems were there?

[Suzdaltsev] Iraq had quite a lot of military equipment, including some French- and German-made, and, of course, ours. Large objects were protected by such SAM systems as, for instance, SAM-2 (using Western terminology), Osa, and Kvadrat. Combat troop deployments were covered by ZSU-23-4 Shilka, Strela-10, and portable SAM system Strela-3...

[Falichev] What can you say about their firepower?

[Suzdaltsev] There is no secret here. All of them are, as they say, open. Take the Shilka self-propelled SAM system. Its range is 2.5 km, altitude—1.5. km. The Osa self-propelled SAM system is more effective: range 10 km, altitude—5 km. What is interesting, though, is that, according to our data almost none of the modern systems like the Osa and the Kvadrat were used to cover the troops. This is, perhaps, the explanation for the almost unimpeded bombardments of Iraqi positions from intermediate altitudes.

As to the potential of the troop-based air defenses, in principle it could work against any carrier-based tactical bombing aviation, as well as fire support helicopters. First of all at low altitudes, naturally. According to our data, it did its job quite well. I am talking about those systems that were deployed at the troops combat positions and had targets within their fire range. Here is an example. When B-52 strategic bombers, known since Vietnam, were used at low altitudes, they were fired upon by Shilka and Strela-3 systems. As a result of a missile hit, the engines on one bomber caught fire and had to be ejected. The aircraft could not fulfill its combat mission and returned to base. The press reported that another B-52 crashed, although it was trying to make it to its base in the Indian Ocean...

[Falichev] Unfortunately, the information on aircraft downed by the Iraqis is still contradictory. How many were there? What new methods did the multinational allied forces use to overcome the air defense fire zone?

[Suzdaltsev] I agree, there was a lot of fog surrounding it. I think, however, that today we can say with certainty: The multinational allied forces lost 68 planes and 29 helicopters. You will agree that these figures are somewhat different from what was reported in the newspapers. It means that if the weapons are used skillfully—even if they are not state of the art—one can conduct combat operations with them. I will remind you that the majority of systems were produced in the 1970's. As for the SAM-2, just think about it—this is the missile which was fired at Powers in...1960. The Americans have studied this weapon thoroughly even since the Arab War, and found an "antidote" for it...

[Zherdetskiy] Among the new air defense-avoidance methods I would name the use of space means for reconnaissance of combat positions, universal use of electronic warfare equipment, and the preventive cruise missile strike... A detailed and, so to say, more competent analysis is still awaiting us, though.

[Strelkov] It is true, it is not possible to cover everything in a newspaper publication. I would only like to note that the ratio of the air power of the multinational allied forces to the Iraqi air defenses was 10 to 1. What does this mean? Each SAM division has its own fire potential. For instance, it can destroy 10 enemy planes, but if there are 100 of them, the rest will get through to the target. So, the air power of the multinational allied forces exceeded the Iraqi air defense potential tenfold.

A very important factor was the use of electronic warfare planes which "jammed" the radio channels of radar stations. There were about three support planes for each strike plane. If the automatic system for release of, let us say, dipole reflectors malfunctioned, the pilot was under orders to return to base.

Finally, another new type of weapon used in this war was the Harm anti-radar missile. Why is it unusual? Let us say, a carrier-based attack plane takes off. His on-board locator tells him that enemy ground radar is locked onto him and is getting ready to shoot at him. However, the Harm missile by itself receives information from the emitting device, stores it in its memory, and even after the ground emitter is turned off, once the missile is launched it follows the memorized beam, damaging or destroying the air defense system.

[Falichev] Would not this explain the low SAM fire activity in covering large objects?

[Zherdetskiy] I think that everything is relative. We have already mentioned that on the whole the Iraqi air defenses did what they could. In my opinion, the main reason for the relatively low Iraqi air defense activity was the lack of automated fire control. What do I mean? Modern battle management is impossible without automated systems. To shoot at targets spread over an enormous area of air space, it is not enough to see the targets on radar screens. It is necessary to quickly process this information on a computer, and to allocate targets between the divisions... During a massive attack, when there are not one or two, but tens or even hundreds of targets, it is practically impossible to accomplish this without a modern automatic fire control system. I calculate that the lack of such a system could by itself reduce Iraqi air defense fire capability by about 40 percent.

[Falichev] Well, let us assume that we have somewhat figured out the air defense operation in the Iraqi combat detachments. What about the systems covering major objects; why were they silent? Baghdad and al-Basrah were under bombardment...

[Suzdaltsev] We can only assume that many systems were destroyed during the first massive strike on industrial centers and airfields. About 180 Tomahawk and Harm cruise missiles were used during the first strike. As a result, air defenses ceased to exist as a system: The military people know what I mean. I am saying all this not to provide a justification. Iraq also had modern foreign- made systems, like the such as French systems Crotale and Roland. Also armaments from other countries. Alas, they did not perform any better than ours.

[Falichev] Does it turn out that Iraqi air defense, for all practical purposes, could not hinder the international forces from accomplishing their tasks? What conclusions follow from the experience of this war?

[Strelkov] I cannot agree with that formulation. The multinational allied forces had to continue air strikes for over a month (!), working over Iraqi positions. Why? Yes, they wanted to minimize casualties. But it also proves the strength of the deployed Iraqi troops, including the air defenses. As to the conclusions, here is one of them: Combat operations in modern wars will undoubtedly start with the destruction of reconnoitered targets of the enemy forces, with air force operations. And although academician Arbatov some time ago advanced the idea that we almost do not need air defense troops, this opinion—as evidenced by these events—is incorrect. Had Iraq not had such an air defense, the multinational allied forces would have achieved their goal much sooner.

Next. This war was different from any other in that electronic warfare played a very special role in it. If we do not work in advance on ways to counter electronic warfare systems, they can nullify the efforts of some air defense systems entirely. Unfortunately—and this is not a secret—we are still behind the West in the development of electronics. And even if we wanted to, it would not be easy to quickly set up production of this technology on a base of modern materials: Our industry is not very responsive to new technologies. Therefore, I believe that we should further improve the whole system of ordering and developing new technology and armaments. Work on new prototypes of arms should be done on a competitive basis.

[Zherdetskiy] To fight more effectively in such conditions, we need to have different types of SAM and radar systems, a high degree of automation in the management of combat operations, reconnaissance, and target guidance. By the way, without reconnaissance, including space-based reconnaissance, neither the Patriot nor the Hawk would have performed the way they did. Being highly protected against interference, they are equipped with targeting lasers. This is very promising weaponry the Americans have...

[Strelkov] Forgive me for interrupting, but lately we keep looking at the United States, comparing ourselves with them. Of course, it is necessary to analyze the development of attack and defense capabilities of the leading NATO country. However, we should not blindly copy everything they develop. I mean the air defense organization: The geostrategic situation of our country is special. That is even leaving aside the economic cost. The same Patriot missile costs $20 to $30 million. Count yourself...

[Zherdetskiy] You are absolutely right: Not every country can afford it. Therefore, when we talk about the effectiveness of any air defense system, we have to ask first: effectiveness against which enemy? Iraqi air defenses could not, of course, compete with the highly technologically developed strike capabilities of the multinational allied forces. This is like putting an experienced boxer in the ring against a novice...

I will probably not reveal any secrets if I say this: We have interference-proof missile systems which are capable of handling appropriate tasks. But Comrade Strelkov is absolutely right in recalling academician Arbatov's position, and in particular, his article "How Much Defense Is Enough?" If we fall behind in developing our air defenses, we will not catch up with the same United States later. The sad experience of Iraq is very instructive in this respect, especially considering that politics—even if it is peace-oriented—is a very capricious lady...

[Falichev] What is the prognosis for the future development of air defense?

[Strelkov] Judging from the direction of the Pentagon's weapons programs, by the year 2000 they are planning to have tens of thousands of strategic and tactical supersonic cruise and operational-tactical missiles. This proves the point: The role of air and space attack forces will keep increasing, which makes us consider air defense as an extremely important factor in the defense capability of our country. Only an army equipped with modern weapons and air defense technology will be able to withstand massive aviation strikes at the start of a modern war.

Baltic Republics

Dutch Legislative Delegation Visits Estonia

Meets With Officials

LD1004142691 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0900 GMT 10 Apr 91

[Text] We have already reported that a Netherlands parliamentary delegation is staying in Riga. This morning the members of the delegation met with Mavriks Vulfsons, chairman of the Supreme Council Foreign Affairs Commission, and other members of the commission, as well as with representatives of the opposition faction. There was then a meeting at the Council of Ministers with Karlis Licis, minister of administrative affairs, and Health Minister Edvins Platkajis. In the afternoon the Netherlands parliamentarians are expected to meet with Supreme Council Chairman Anatolijs Gorbunovs.

Received by Ruutel

LD1004145191 Moscow TASS in English 1144 GMT 10 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn April 10 TASS—A Dutch MP spoke in favour of the Estonian drive to gain state independence by peaceful means. Maarten van Traa, deputy chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the parliament of the Netherlands and head of a Dutch parliamentary delegation visiting at the invitation of the republican Supreme Soviet, addressed a press conference here.

The Dutch MPs were received by Arnold Ruutel, the chairman of the Estonian Supreme Soviet, and by the parliamentary foreign affairs commission. They also attended a session of the Supreme Soviet and held a meeting with representatives of the Russian-speaking community of Estonia.

The Dutch MPs want to acquaint themselves with the situation in the Baltic republics. After Tallinn they will visit Riga, Vilnius and Moscow. It is expected that a Dutch information centre will open in one of the Baltic capitals as a result of the visit.

Latvian Supreme Council Declares Draft Law Invalid

LD1004160191 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0900 GMT 10 Apr 91

[Excerpt] At the plenary sitting of the Supreme Council this morning, the deputies first turned their attention to the question discussed yesterday about the stance on Resolution No. 32 adopted by the Council of Ministers on 23 January, on drafting citizens of the Republic of Latvia for alternative labor service or active military service. This resolution has in fact already lost its force; however, the military commissariat is still applying it. Therefore the Supreme Council today adopted by a majority vote a text for a new draft resolution on the stance on the resolution of the Council of Ministers. This draft had been prepared for the legislative agenda on the initiative of the defense and internal affairs commission of the Supreme Council. The draft resolution was passed with 80 deputies in favor, 27 against, and 12 abstaining. It holds that Resolution No. 32 of the Council of Ministers has lost its force, and the Supreme Council charges the defense and internal affairs commission of the Republic of Latvia, together with the relevant structural units of the republican Council of Ministers, with examining the proposed additions and amendments to the law on alternative labor service by 15 May 1991, and presenting its review to a plenary sitting of the republican Supreme Council. This resolution takes effect from the day of its adoption. In other words, one more (?effort has been made), but not the last, on the question of military service in our republic. [passage omitted]

Annulment Could Cause 'Tension'

LD1004200191 Moscow All-union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1900 GMT 10 Apr 91

[Text] The Latvian Supreme Soviet has nullified the January decision of the Council of Ministers on the draft of Latvian citizens for military service and his instructed that a new draft law should be framed before 15 May. In this way, the question of drafting young men into the Soviet Army, which will start on 15 April, may give rise to tension, as happened at the beginning of the year.

Czechoslovakia Offers Latvia Trade Agreement

LD1004031891 Riga Radio Riga International in English 2030 GMT 9 Apr 91

[Text] Czechoslovakia has offered Latvia to conclude a bargain for a border exchange of different goods. As a result, Latvia will receive various kinds of machinery, chemical production, as well as consumer goods. The agreement also proposes cooperation between Latvian and Czechoslovakian banks. It is known that Czechoslovakia has already concluded similar agreements with Soviet Russia and Ukraine.

Protest Rally Held at Lithuanian CPSU Building

LD1004142491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 10 Apr 91

[Summary] Today on the invitation of the Lithuanian Sajudis, the residents of Vilnius came to the building of the Lithuanian CPSU Central Committee and staged a protest meeting there.

The participants in the meeting signed a letter of protest to General Ginutis Taurinskas, who continues to call himself chairman of the DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy] of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. The letter incidentally read: General, it is high time you got off the platform of the CPSU and went to join Yazov. Traitors are not wanted here in Lithuania.

When a journalist asked if a letter like this was not an invitation to trouble, the workers said they are the working class which General Taurinskas claimed he was protecting. They said: A hooligan is brave until he gets punched in the nose. We are too mild with this kind of people.

Lithuanian Foreign Ministry Protests to Kremlin

LD1004223191 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 10 Apr 91

[Text] The Lithuanian Foreign Ministry has sent a note of protest to the Foreign Ministry of the Soviet Union [word indistinct] the takeover of a state-owned building in Vilnius.

Once again armed Soviet soldiers invaded a car driving school in the suburbs of Vilnius yesterday morning.

They threw the staff members out and set up military posts around the building.

The Lithuanian note said that actions of this kind are incompatible with the positive changes that have recently developed in the Lithuanian-Soviet dialogue and the principle of mutual confidence agreed on by both sides.

The note expresses hope that the Soviet Government and the officials of Soviet Defense Ministry will take measures to return the occupied building, together with all the profits which have legally belonged to the Lithuanian state.

Objective investigation should be carried out and the guilty persons put on trial so that aggressive actions of this kind would never be repeated in future.

The Kremlin has not responded to the note.

During last week's meeting in Moscow between Lithuanian and Soviet negotiating teams the Soviet side did not give any guarantees not to use force in Lithuania.

The occupiers of the driving school declared that they were going to instruct future drivers for the Soviet Armed Forces there.

Lithuanians Meet Pugo, Protest OMON 'Outrage'

PM0904151991 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 29 Mar 91 p 1

[Report by ELTA correspondent R. Chesna: "Meeting in Moscow"]

[Text] A working group from the Commission for State Protection and Internal Affairs, comprising Supreme Soviet Deputies Zita Slicyte, Egidijus Klumbys, and Romualdas Ozolas, was in Moscow. Journalists were briefed on the group's work by Audrius Azubalis, Supreme Soviet press spokesman, at a briefing held 27 March.

First of all, the group called at the Kremlin where it handed to deputies of the Soviet Union's Supreme Soviet a collection of documents, prepared by the Lithuanian Republic General Prosecutor's Office, on crimes committed by servicemen of the USSR Armed Forces and on OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] activities in Lithuania.

The deputies met Boris Pugo, USSR minister of internal affairs. It was emphasized that the main factor of the current destabilization of Lithuania is the OMON's activity which can often be described as downright outrage by gangsters. The USSR minister of internal affairs admitted that, in some cases, OMON personnel failed to act properly. Lithuania's representatives handed to him the material on OMOM men's crimes, which was put together by the republic General Prosecutor's Office, emphasizing that if the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs does not take measures as regards the OMON, this will complicate the talks with the Soviet Union. Minister B. Pugo promised to study the material presented to him and to draw conclusions.

A demand for the return of seized weapons belonging to Lithuanian Republic officials was made during a meeting with Nikolay Demidov, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs.

The Lithuanian Republic's representatives met Aleksey Vasilyev, USSR first deputy general prosecutor. They raised the question of actions by Prosecutor Antanas Petrauskas, illegally posted by the USSR Prosecutor's Office to Lithuania. The deputy general prosecutor asked for more detailed material in this regard.

Stankevicius Reports Lithuanian Talks in Moscow

LD0904110991 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 0716 GMT 9 Apr 91

[Report by Ceslovas Stankevicius, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, at the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius—live]

[Text] Esteemed deputies, the protocol of the official meeting in the Kremlin on 4 April between the delegations of the Republic of Lithuania and the Soviet Union has been distributed among you, and you already understand from the text of this protocol what was agreed during that meeting. I would assess these agreements more as a coordination of regulations and procedure, not as the coordination of basic positions. The most important issue was not solved during the meeting—a date for the official inter-state negotiations between the Republic of Lithuania and the Soviet Union.

The delegation of the Republic of Lithuania has stated more than once to the delegation of the Soviet Union that the Republic of Lithuania is ready for inter-state negotiations and had the necessary authorization. The Soviet delegation admitted during the meeting that it did not have such authorization and could not conduct negotiations about the aim we proposed.

The Soviet delegation stated that it could conduct negotiations between the delegations, but not between the Republic of Lithuania and the Soviet Union, not interstate negotiations, and it could discuss issues indicated in the Soviet decree forming this delegation.

But during the talk, the Soviet delegation spoke about the future negotiations as a planned matter, and you can see in the protocol that some dates of the future negotiations have been fixed, including some principles of the coming negotiations.

I would like to stress here that the Soviet delegation refused to rule out the use of force or the threat of force, explaining that force could be used to preserve law and order.

During the first part of the official meeting of the delegations, we heard many times the reasoning of the Soviet delegation that the Soviet Constitution must be valid in Lithuania, that it must be adhered to in solving, as they stated, the complex of issues. In the afternoon these statements became more restrained.

We put forward the principle of refusal to use force and the threats of force as very important, and that the buildings of the Republic of Lithuania, seized by force, should be returned immediately and that the hunting, persecution, kidnapping, and attacks on people should stop. The discussion on these problems was difficult. There was no wish on the part of the Soviet Union to understand the importance of this issue. We had to listen for a long time to assertions that the Soviet Army has not been shooting at people, was not crushing people with tanks in January. We had to listen to very old statements by representatives of the Army, Soviet Chief of Staff General Moiseyev, about alleged attempts against Soviet soldiers, Soviet military units, attacks on them, and so on.

Everything was denied, and we restated all the facts which are universally known and at which the whole world has been indignant, and that essentially the Soviet delegation was stating the same thing we have heard in statements by the Soviet Union's Minister of Defense, Yazov on television and elsewhere.

As far as the aim of the coming negotiations is concerned, we proposed to define it and stated that we would like to negotiate the restoration of state good-neighborly relations between the Republic of Lithuania and the Soviet Union, renewing the recognition of the Republic of Lithuania, bearing in mind the act of 11 March 1990 and the referendum of 9 February 1991.

As I already said, the Soviet delegation said it was not authorized to conduct negotiations with this aim in view, but after prolonged discussions we managed to coordinate the definition of this aim, which is close to the definition we proposed, with the exception that it has not been clearly and thoroughly defined, but it points out that the aim of the negotiations is the regulation of relations between the Republic of Lithuania and the Soviet Union. The official name of the Republic of Lithuania was written in and it was pointed out that the regulation of relations is between the two sides; there is the word, between.

You will also notice the word sides [salys], and we understand that the sides are the Republic of Lithuania and the Soviet Union, but as you see, because of such an ambiguous formulation by the Soviet delegation about their authorization, this is still vague. Thank you for your attention.

Stankevicius Briefs Media on Talks 29 Mar

PM0904144491 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 29 Mar 91 p 1

[ELTA report: "On the Possibility of Talks"]

[Text] During a briefing held at the Supreme Soviet, Ceslovas Stankevicius, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet, briefed journalists on his attempt to meet Vitaliy Doguzhiyev, first deputy premier of the Soviet Union, and answered their questions.

C. Stankevicius noted that, prior to embarking on talks, Lithuania would like to obtain certain guarantees so as to ensure the security of Lithuania's power structures and avoid the use of force. We will expect an answer to the telegram sent to V. Doguzhiyev, vice premier of the Soviet Union, on Monday [25 March]. Of course, if the Soviet Union continues to evade talking about the use of force and strives to separate the one from the other, problems may also arise, he said.

Nonetheless, the deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet is optimistically inclined. Especially since, in his words, the whole world is demanding of the Soviet Union and Lithuania that the talks be held without preconditions and without the use of force.

Answering a question on talks with Russia, C. Stankevicius noted that the political emphasis in Russia now is on the extraordinary congress which will decide the future political course of Russia's leadership. According to his belief, Russia's policy will become more dynamic after that. Evidently, Russia will then revert to the question of concluding the treaty with Lithuania. Incidentally, the Russian side has expressed the wish that we also prepare other documents stemming from the basic treaty. Like, for example, the agreement on Koenigsberg [Kalinigrad] which, as a matter of fact, is at its final stages at present. Thus, matters are not at a standstill, the deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet said.

RSFSR

Paper Suggests Yeltsin at Kislovodsk Sanatorium

PM1104102591 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 11 Apr 91 p 2

["Own Information" report: "We Know But We're Not Saying"]

[Text] When B.N. Yeltsin was not seen on the "Vremya" program 9 April or, more accurately, in the report from the Federation Council session, people became worried. "Where is he? What has happened?" readers asked our newspaper when they phoned the editorial office yesterday morning. Indeed, just where is the chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet?

We telephoned Yeltsin's office and heard the reply: "Boris Nikolayevich is here, in Moscow. He has not gone anywhere. He wasn't at the Federation Council because he is currently working on ways to extricate Russia from the crisis."

Thank God, he is alive and well. He is at work. The only pity is that for some reason Yeltsin's office distorted the facts. According to our information, B.N. Yeltsin has gone to Kislovodsk. There is a good sanatorium there, the Krasnyye Kamni, which belongs to the USSR Council of Ministers Treatment and Recuperation Association.

RSFSR Anticrisis Program Examined

PM1004135191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Apr 91 p 1

[Article by S. Razin: "Do Market Laws Extend to Political Life, or, Will Polozkov Be Left With His Party Card?"; last five paragraphs are KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA afterword]

[Text] "You must not raise the economy at the people's expense"—I heard this angry retort from people standing in line for compensation. Premier Pavlov has "gladdened" us once again by announcing that the economic stabilization program provides for still tougher measures than a price hike. I have no doubt that the premier will keep his word. However, there is every reason to be an optimist right now... We tried for so long to observe socialist innocence and drove the country so hard into an economic impasse that even the initiator of perestroyka was forced to admit at the meeting with miners: Radical reforms cannot be carried out while preserving the old system. There is nothing left to do now but to cover at an accelerated pace the path already taken by almost the entire world—from America to Japan, from China to Poland.

As B. Yeltsin promised, the Russian anticrisis program was submitted at the extraordinary Congress of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic People's Deputies. Without going into technical details, I will try to explain what the proposed measures will do if they can be realized.

Foodstuffs. It will be perfectly possible to taste the fruits of the market this fall. If you recall how there was trade in water melons in Moscow right up until the frosts last year, then the anticrisis model gives rise to no doubts. As soon as vegetable stalls and shops, stores and warehouses transfer to the private businessman's solicitous hands, as soon as the whole chain from the field to the customer is privatized, we will cease to let almost half of the cultivated harvest go rotten and be plowed into the ground every year.

Retail outlets have already started to be sold off in Leningrad. And I believe that other cities and villages will not lag behind: Almost all the proceeds from privatizing urban property will pass into local budgets.

I have deliberately relegated the private farmer problem to the background. Of course, it is necessary to distribute empty collective farm and sovkhoz lands to peasants right now, but it is possible to take different paths toward an abundance of food. Out of goodwill, peasants in Novosibirsk Oblast, for example, have preserved large farms and turned former sovkhozes into unions of rural cooperatives. They have taken an indefinite lease on land, equipment, and livestock units, believing that the market will suggest to them the best way to live—together or apart.

Consumer goods. It cannot be ruled out that Soviet department stores will soon be filled with imported clothes, footwear, domestic equipment, and other "overseas items." Western firms have already gotten the right to open ruble accounts in our country, and the Russian Government is not averse to using imported tactics pending the advent of its own forces.

Market incentives in Russian industry must operate for two or three years. In any case, taxes are being reduced to 30 percent for all enterprises which have passed to Russia's jurisdiction, and foreign economic and currency independence is being granted, as well as the right to seek partners and to dispose of their own output.

Directors of state enterprises seem to have made their choice already. The timber and papermaking industries have returned to Russia, and the coal, oil, and power industries are next in line. Even industrial giants are not scared of Yeltsin's economic extremism now. The slogan of the immediate privatization of all industry has been taken off the agenda. The giants can perfectly well enter the market on the basis of state ownership, but on this obligatory condition: They must use commercial credits instead of budget funding.

Prices and wages. During the year prices will become free, as in America. Some of them will be still higher, some lower. Everything depends on supply and demand. However, free prices are not as terrible to the population as the present financial reform. For Soviet people's wages will also be free, as in America. All ceilings and all restrictions on citizens' private incomes are being lifted, and henceforth income tax cannot exceed 30 percent.

Private ownership. Our family could well become capitalists in the very near future. The Russian anticrisis program states with the utmost clarity: Privatization will benefit the entire population. Labor collectives will receive gratis approximately 30 percent of the shares in their own enterprise, and working people will be able to

lease and gradually redeem a further 30 percent of the fixed capital. The remaining 40 percent, again in the form of shares, will be auctioned. Anyone who so wishes may attend this auction. Everyone in Russia will receive personalized checks and have the right to invest them in any enterprise he likes.

However, the new anticrisis program will, maybe, strike many people as one more impossible dream. However, and I would emphasize this particularly, this time it is built on simple and clear incentives which work wonders all over the world. The sensible tactic of radical and phased reforms, which will lead the country to the market according to the principle "from the simple to the complex," has been adopted. Incidentally, South Korea originally also made the market breakthrough in just two sectors—in electronics and light industry. Will Russia be able to repeat the success of the Asian "tiger"?

"Yeltsin is taking a colossal risk by securing special powers. We still do not know what Gorbachev has in mind"—such conversations can now be heard in any waiting line. Taking their cue from certain radically-minded democrats, the people have strengthened their opinion that the confrontation between the two leaders is a confrontation between two political courses. Many people perceive the president as nothing but an inveterate dogmatist who does not wish to waive principles.

I believe that such rumors are somewhat exaggerated and based on a half-truth. Such a pragmatic politician as Gorbachev would hardly cling to a dying system if it started to threaten his personal power. To all appearances, such a moment has already arrived.

Political experts are inclined to consider the split in the "Communists of Russia" bloc the chief event of the extraordinary congress. However, this event is just one outward manifestation of the hidden, deep-down changes which are occurring in our society and which the nomenklatura has accelerated to a significant degree by its actions.

After Russia, the chief bulwark of the bureaucratic system, proclaimed its sovereignty, appeals to "come out of the trenches" were made everywhere. The return to a patrolled economy began. Only six months ago the totalitarian monolith seemed impenetrable: Party and departmental structures, having become tightly interwoven, were strongly underpinned by the thousands-strong body of directors and by party committees at state enterprises. However, the attempt to tighten screws only accelerated the collapse of the administrative system. In a matter of weeks the directors mutinied against the racketeering tax policy and directly betrayed the interests of the nomenklatura. Economic planners united in an independent science-and-industry union, and they criticize the premier's financial reform from all rostrums. So, by gambling on the old departmental structures, the Cabinet of Ministers is now hanging in midair.

Economic planners also seem to have played a dirty trick on the party apparatus. It was precisely state enterprise directors who supported the creation of the new "Communists for Democracy" faction at the extraordinary Congress of Russian People's Deputies. It is quite possible that a grand purge will begin in the party's ranks in the near future, and it is not yet known precisely who will have to part with his party card...

The extraordinary Congress of Russian Deputies has clearly shown that the radical reforms in our country are already irreversible. Moreover, I will venture to assume that the president foresaw such a turn of events even before the party apparatus attempted to jettison Yeltsin and achieved the directly opposite results.

"The president is still very important as a factor of stability and continuity of power," Galina Starovoytova, one of the most ardent supporters of radical reforms, believes. Incidentally, even Yeltsin himself insisted that the point about Gorbachev's immediate resignation be excluded from the congress resolution on the miners' strikes.

The market reforms are now beginning to be threatened not so much by the intrigues of the nomenklatura as by the spontaneously growing workers movement. Independent trade unions of metallurgical workers and machine builders have declared their solidarity with the miners. The price hike is radicalizing still further the mood among the population. Yeltsin might as well urge the people's masses to be prudent and calm.

Incidentally

The USSR Cabinet of Ministers has submitted a draft program for extricating the economy from the crisis. The proposed measures are based on the basic guidelines for stabilizing the national economy and switching to a market economy approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet in October 1990.

The government advances as the immediate tasks:
—the sharp slowing up of the disintegration of the country's unified economic space and the accelerated development of market relations;
—the provision of food, medical supplies, housing, fuel, and the uninterrupted operation of transport for the population during the transitional period;
—the large-scale involvement of foreign capital and technology in priority spheres...

Moscow Gorispolkom To Create Municipal Militia

PM100412459l Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Apr 91 Union Edition p 8

[Report by A. Illesh and V. Rudnev: "Two Militias in Moscow?"]

[Text] Yesterday in the report "Moscow Militia: Who Is the Most Important?" we described the legal impasse in which the Moscow Gorispolkom [City Soviet Executive Committee] Main Internal Affairs Administration finds

itself when two generals are appointed there simultaneously: I. Shilov (by a president's decree) and V. Komissarov (by the decision of the Moscow City Soviet). And now a new stage has ensued in the struggle for the seat of the capital's chief militiaman: The decision of the Moscow Gorispolkom Presidium states that it is essential to create in the city its own—municipal—militia.

The Presidium decided to turn to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] with this idea.

It is proposed now to channel the funds previously earmarked to finance the Main Internal Affairs Directorate into the creation, equipping, and maintenance of a new structure—the municipal militia. The present militia has been allocated just a week during which it can continue to live on its former money.

This is in the Moscow Soviet's view a global solution, so to speak, to the dispute over who is to ensure order in the country's biggest city. The document has also decided to suspend the preferential socioconsumer provision and supply of goods to staffers of the present USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Main Administration for Moscow and Moscow Oblast. We shall not venture to say where that will lead. Indeed the criminal situation which has now taken shape in Moscow instills no particular optimism. And a course altered so drastically puts us on our guard. But could the Moscow legislators have acted differently in the situation which has taken shape? Viktor Maksimov, chairman of the Moscow City Soviet commission for legality and law and order, answers:

"We found no other way out, although we tried to reach agreement with the USSR MVD by 'peaceful' legal means. Yet again Moscow City Soviet deputies and the Russian congress came up against the legal nihilism of the authorities and the flouting of constitutional norms by those whose point it is to defend the country's Fundamental Law. A kind of 'privatization' of the Moscow militia has begun. The elected city authorities cannot now unequivocally tell their voters: You have guaranteed militia protection! That is why we must urgently create a new structure—the municipal militia."

We are convinced that the struggle for a Moscow militia will not end here. It is, we repeat, important that a third force—crime—should not win in this "skirmish."

Tyumen Soviet Sends Letter to Pavlov, Silayev

LD1004025891 Tyumen Domestic Service in Russian 0117 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] As we have already reported, there was a session of the oblast Soviet of People's Deputies commission on extracting the oblast from the crisis. To implement its decision, letters were sent to USSR Prime Minister Pavlov and Silayev, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers. In part, they stress that the position in the oil and gas complex is not only not stabilizing, but is getting worse. Shameless irresponsibility, and sometimes the deliberate ignoring of deliveries of equipment, materials, food, and industrial goods to Tyumen Oblast are destabilizing the situation in the work force and provoke them to take extreme measures.

The results of work in the first quarter of 1991 will bear no comparison with the same period last year. In implementing the concept of the development of the region, the Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies considers it necessary to enact a whole series of measures, including returning to the oblast budget money taken this year by means of introducing the new approach to calculating and distributing leasehold payments, a general licence for the Tyumen Soviet Executive Committee for marketing a certain amount of oil on the external market, the creation of a fund of Tyumen underground resources, the right of the Tyumen Oblast Soviet to foreign economic activity, and the adoption, as speedily as possible, of a program to stabilize the country's oil and gas complex.

The Tyumen Oblast Soviet considers that the measures outlined are essential to ensure social stability in the oblast and the prevention of a sharp drop in output in the oil and gas complex.

This report was handed to us by the press center of the oblast soviet.

Moscovites Polled on Democratic Russia, CPSU

91UN1207A Moscow VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA in Russian 6 Mar 91 p 1

["Political Rating" article by N. Kuznetsov: "Democratic Russia and the CPSU—Which Do Muscovites Trust?"]

[Text] On 23 and 24 February the sociological service of VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA, the Moscow Sociological Agency, and the USSR Academy of Science Sociological Institute's section for the study of Muscovites' public opinion conducted a survey of city residents. Heading the research effort was Candidate of Philosophical Sciences S. Kolobanov. (Sampling selection data are given in the 27 February issue of VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA.)

Muscovites first learned about the Democratic Russia movement in the spring of last year, during the election campaign. Most of the candidates for people's deputy of the Moscow City Soviet and of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] who were supported by this movement obtained a majority of the vote in those elections.

Today this sociopolitical formation also plays a fairly significant role in the life of our city. The prestige of Democratic Russia is increasing; its organizational establishment is proceeding. Here we present the results obtained during the survey (for comparison purposes, data from a poll conducted in November 1990 are cited in parentheses).

The question was phrased as follows: Whom are you more inclined to trust—Democratic Russia or the CPSU? Forty-nine percent of Muscovites put greater trust in Democratic Russia (42 percent in November), 12 percent in the CPSU (14), six percent have an equal measure of trust in these political forces (6), and 14 percent trust neither (13). The remainder found it difficult to respond.

Of those who trust Democratic Russia, 56 percent trust the RSFSR Supreme Soviet as well, 55 percent trust the Moscow City Soviet, just six percent trust the USSR president, three percent trust the USSR Cabinet of Ministers, and five percent trust the USSR Supreme Soviet. Among those Muscovites who have greater trust in the CPSU (we recall that these constitute just 12 percent of the total), 23 percent place trust in the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, 21 percent in the Moscow City Soviet, 57 percent in the USSR president, 44 percent in the USSR Cabinet of Ministers, and 51 percent in the USSR Supreme Soviet.

These categories of Muscovites also diverge with respect to the statement on television by B. Yeltsin on the resignation of the USSR president and on transferring power in its entirety to the Council of the Federation. Seventy-three percent of Democratic Russia Muscovites support this statement and 71 percent of the CPSU supporters condemn it.

Thus almost half of all people polled trust Democratic Russia, a fact which may in the near future, as the organizational establishment of this movement proceeds, become a source for the emergence of a new, mass political force, having a significant influence on the formation of organs of authority (only in the event, of course, that the country's elections take place freely and without violations of the law on the part of the communist powers that be). This force will be oriented primarily on the full or partial independence of Russia and a strong anti-centrist posture.

At the same time, the CPSU is gradually losing its social support (as evidenced by survey results), adhering to its clearly expressed posture of a "strong center," and is being transformed step by step into a party of officials and generals, secretaries and directors. In the future it may find itself deprived of any significant support among the people and may lose power irrevocably.

(Reference data on Moscow communists will be presented in the next publication of the VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA sociological service.)

Silayev Meets Japanese Business Executive 9 Apr

LD1004025291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1800 GMT 9 Apr 91

[Text] Silayev, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, met today with Akiyama, president of the Japanese corporation Sumitomo. The prospects of economic cooperation were discussed, notably, the possibility of the participation of the company in a range of projects in the construction and reconstruction of enterprises in Siberia and the Far East.

Western Republics

Further on Minsk Rallies, Strikes Against Prices

IZVESTIYA on 10 Apr Rally

PM1004201191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Apr 91 Union Edition p 1

[Correspondent M. Shimanskiy report: "Rally in Minsk Square"]

[Text] Minsk—A rally attended by many thousands started on Minsk's largest square—Lenin Square—on the morning of 10 April. Passions again began to seethe outside Government House.

Workers from many enterprises in the republic's capital, including the biggest, took part. True, the enterprises themselves did not stop work, but representatives of their labor collectives, numbering several hundred in some cases, came to the square.

I spoke to participants in the rally and asked what had brought them there. "The policy of our country's leadership, which has brought us to the verge of catastrophe," the workers said. "Pavlov's reform of prices, which denies us the means to live and breathe. We demand the resignation of the USSR president and Supreme Soviet and the republic Supreme Soviet."

The demand that the strike committee be given 15 minutes of television airtime was again made. The day before the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium had invited the leaders of the strike committee to meet with it to discuss this question. There are no objections to giving the strike committee airtime, but it is necessary to stipulate conditions. Unfortunately, the meeting did not take place. The city strike committee leaders did not show up.

The situation in Minsk remains tense. The auto plant (apart from continuous-operation production) and the tractor plant (except for a few shops and services) have stopped work and the engine plant is idle. As G. Gvozdik, member of the city strike committee, informed me, as of 1300 on 10 April 22 enterprises were working only partially.

At a briefing for journalists 10 April M. Myasnikovich, first deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, said that the government had done everything within its power to soften in some way the blow inflicted on people by the reform of retail prices. The total compensation payments to the republic's population will amount to 14.540 billion rubles. The day before Myasnikovich had met with the strike committee leaders to try to find common ground in the difficult situation. It

turned out that with regard to economic demands the strike committee apparently had no complaints. The political demands which many thousands of Minsk inhabitants brought to Government House 10 April are outside the republic's competence. Myasnikovich stressed that the government is ready to start talks with the strike movement leaders. Unfortunately, there has been no such dialogue to date.

Radio on 10 Apr 'Mass Meeting'

LD1004192591 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 10 Apr 91

[Report by correspondent Petr Makritskiy in Minsk]

[Excerpt] The situation in Minsk is tense again. This morning representatives of labor collectives went to the Lenin Square. In fact, the events of 4 April were repeated. A mass meeting was held. The participants in the meeting again repeated their demands that urgent measures should be taken for the social protection of people in connection with sharp price rises. I would like to remind you that today the week which was given to the Belorussian Government by the workers on strike and by the city committee expired. A delegation was sent to the house of the government with an instruction to call for a meeting of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet Presidium, and to urgently tackle the issue of convening an extraordinary session of the republican legislature. There were many speakers at the meeting. They included representatives of labor collectives. In the main, people made well-grounded claims that the price reform has not been free of major mistakes and slips, and this has caused discontent. [passage omitted]

'Tens of Thousands' at Rally

LD1004183491 Moscow TASS in English 1639 GMT 10 Apr 91

[Text] Minsk April 10 TASS—Tens of thousands of people assembled in the central square of the Belorussian capital to attend a rally which began at 11:00 today.

The meeting is being attended by representatives of a number of major industrial enterprises, which resumed the strike they temporarily called off after the republican government and the Minsk City Council asked for a week to study the strikers' demands and work out measures to meet them.

The meeting is also being attended by representatives of some strike committees from the country's coal fields.

A wave of strikes rolled across Belorussia in early April after price hikes were announced as a step in Soviet economic reform.

In addition to economic demands for higher wages to offset price hikes and the annulment of the five percent sales tax, participants in the meeting have called for the resignation of the federal and republican leaders and the departisation of the state structures.

The republican government said it is ready to meet some of the economic demands, but the strikers were not appeased.

Belorussian People's Deputy Viktor Gonchar, who was present at the meeting, told TASS that "all these development are not unexpected", because "no radical political or economic measures are being taken in the republic". He favoured a dialogue, involving representatives of all forces with the aim to form a plan of taking the country out of the impasse and noted that "it is impossible today to meet all the economic demands put forth by the strikers.".

On behalf of the strikers five members of the City Strike Committee went to the Council of Ministers of the Belorussian Republic, where they were met by First Deputy Prime Minister Mikhail Myasnikovich. The delegation demanded the beginning of negotiations between the strike committee and the government on April 11. However, the prime minister turned down the demand for negotiations, delegations members said upon their return to the square.

As proposed by Belorussian People's Deputy Sergey Antonchik, a cochairman of the strike committee, it was decided to continue the strike until the government agrees to negotiations with representatives of the striking workers.

The proposal to begin a dialogue with the republican trade union federation was turned down categorically. In his address at the meeting federation leader Vladimir Goncharik called for consolidation. But he was called a strikebreaker and he stepped down from the tribune.

Enterprises ensuring the normal life of the Belorussian capital are operating at the usual pace. Public transport, shops, communal services and educational establishments are functioning normally.

Deputy chief of the Minsk Interior Affairs Directorate Ivan Sribniy told TASS that no breaches of the public order in connection with the rally had been reported. He said that an additional 200 extra law enforcers were involved in maintaining law and order during the meeting.

Meetings in support of the Minsk strikers were held in the Belorussian cities of Lida and Grodno.

Opposition Urges 'Roundtable'

LD1004183891 Minsk Domestic Service in Belorussian 0650 GMT 10 Apr 91

[Text] NARODNAYA GAZETA publishes a statement of the delegates of the opposition and the Belorussian popular front in the Belorussian Supreme Soviet in connection with the workers' strikes in Belorussia. The opposition supports the lawful demands of the workers. It fights for the provision of political and economic rights for the people. The statement says: we propose to create without delay a roundtable with the participation

of representatives from the strike committees, the opposition movements, and parties and the communist leadership of the republic. This is needed for the stabilization of the socio-political situation in the republic.

Strike Committee Airs Demands

LD1004214191 Moscow TASS in English 2104 GMT 10 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Krzyhanovskiy]

[Text] Minsk April 10 TASS—A news conference of the City Strike Committee of the enterprises of the Belorussian capital took place here late at night. It was announced that strike committees had been set up at 82 enterprises in Minsk and that 64 are on strike which has been supported at a number of enterprises in other cities of the republic.

The republican government's refusal to sit down at the negotiating table with the strikers provoked the growth of tension, said Sergey Antonchik, chairman of the City Strike Committee.

In this connection the committee recommends that work collectives remain on strike and begin preparations for a general political strike.

An address to the Belorussian people to join in the struggle for a better life was read out at the news conference. It stated support for the political demands of the miners on strike, and set out new demands on strikers: The de-partisation of all state structures, the nationalisation of Communist Party property, the granting of equal opportunities in the use of republican radio and television by all political forces in Belorussia, the convocation of a round-table meeting, the formation of a provisional coalition government of people's trust, and the resignation of the Presidium of the Belorussian Federation of Trade Unions.

Strikers Appear on Local TV

LD1104084591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0600 GMT 11 Apr 91

[Text] As a TASS correspondent has reported from Minsk, tens of thousands of representatives of labor collectives gathered at the republic's government house on Wednesday. They have put forward both economic and political demands. The meeting became an extension of the strike which flared up in Minsk on 3 April. In brief, the demands boil down to one thing: how are workers and their families, and the whole population, to be protected from the price rises?

According to the POSTFAKTUM agency, representatives of the Minsk strike committee have appeared on republican television and reported that the labor collectives in the towns of Zhodino, Solegorsk, Molodechno, Baranovichi, and Borisov have joined in the strike of Minsk workers.

A message from the Minsk strike committee to the people of Belorussia read out on television says, in particular: We do not want our Belorussia to remain a party preserve. The message includes a demand to cease payments from the republican budget to the Union budget, and to guarantee the inviolability of the strikers. The Minsk strike committee, as its representatives stated on television, has resolved to begin preparations for a republican political strike. Again once we ask that, while there is time, the government should sit down to negotiate, Georgiy (?Mykhinal), cochairman of the Minsk strike committee, stated. Mikhail Myasnikovich, first deputy chairman of the Belorussian Council of Ministers, spoke after the representatives of the Minsk strike committee. He said that the situation in the republic is critical.

Strikes Spread Through Republic

AU1104105091 Paris AFP in English 0954 GMT 11 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow, April 11 (AFP)—New strikes and demonstrations broke out across the Belorussian Republic Thursday as thousands of demonstrators gathered in Minsk the capital, INTERFAX news agency said quoting one of the organizers of the protests.

Meanwhile the movement continued in some of the main industrial cities of the western republic for a second day, said Gennadiy Bykov, one of the strike committee leaders.

Industrial cities hit by strikes Wednesday included Soligorsk, Zhodino, Gomel, Borissov, and Baranovichi, Mr. Bykov said.

In Minsk, some 20,000 striking workers were heading for Lenin Square in the center of the city, a spokesman for the Council of Ministers' press service, Oleg Trizno, said by telephone.

Strikes broke out in Minsk on April 4 to protest steep price rises decreed by Moscow. They resumed Wednesday after negotiations with local authorities broke down. Strike committees have now been set up in 82 enterprises in Minsk, the official Soviet news agency TASS said.

In addition to a range of economic grievances, strikers have made political demands, including the resignation of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and nationalisation of Communist Party assets.

Rally in Central Square 11 Apr

LD1104121391 Moscow TASS in English 1149 GMT 11 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kryzhanovskiy and Yevgeniy Gorelik]

[Text] Minsk April 11 TASS—Files of strikers headed from factory entrances to the Minsk central square from

early morning today. Mikes were again installed on a makeshift platform to continue the rally which ended on Wednesday only after the dusk.

The city strike committee announced at a news conference on Wednesday evening that strike committees were set up at 82 Minsk factories. The strike has been backed in some other Belorussian cities.

The Minsk strike committee announced an intention to begin preparations for a republican-wide political strike. It adopted an appeal to the Belorussian people to unite in the drive for better life.

The appeal supports the political demands of striking miners and spells out demands by Belorussian strikers.

Strikers put forth new demands: complete departisation of all state structures in the republic, the nationalisation of party property, equal opportunities for all political forces in Belorussia to use republican radio and television, the holding of a roundtable, the formation of an interim coalition government of national confidence and the resignation of the leadership of Belorussian trade unions.

The Presidium of the Belorussian parliament appealed to work collectives concerning the reform of retail prices and social protection of the population. The appeal notes that there is no alternative to the price reform.

The government was instructed to step up work on the programme of Belorussia's transition to a market economy, to speed up the legislative process of demonopolisation, and privatisation of property, including allocation of land to all who wish to till it.

The appeal does not mention strikers' political demands.

TASS contacted managers of Minsk major enterprises in the morning. All workers from the tractor factory went to the rally.

The assembly line at the motor factory continued work at 1000, and representatives from Kirov engineering works went to the rally.

Trucks with Interior Ministry troops appeared in the streets adjacent to the central square.

Strikes Suspended; Talks Agreed

AU1104140691 Paris AFP in English 1405 GMT 11 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow, April 11 (AFP)—Strikers in the Belorussian capital Minsk suspended their action on Thursday after the local authorities agreed to open talks with representatives of the strike committee, INTERFAX news agency said.

An agreement ending the general strike was signed by First Deputy Chairman of the Belorussian parliament Stanislav Chuchkiyevich and delegates from the Minsk strike committee.

A spokesman for the strike committee said by telephone from Minsk that the suspension was "temporary" and that a rally in the city centre had ended.

However the population was prepared to resume the movement "at any time", he added.

Belorussian Trade Union Leader Views Strikes

LD1004131591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1704 GMT 9 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Glod]

[Text] Minsk 9 Apr (TASS)—The Presidium of the republican Council of the Federation of Trade Unions spoke today about its attitude toward the wave of strikes taking place in enterprises in Minsk and several other towns of Belorussia. Vladimir Goncharik, leader of the republican trade unions spoke to journalists about it today.

He stressed that the trade unions of Belorussia warned several times of the need for reliable social protection of the population in connection with the sharp rise in prices and demanded that the government of the republic and country take effective measures. While appreciating the two decisions of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers which envisage extra measures for the social protection of the population in connection with the price increases as a significant step forward, he said the trade unions nevertheless think the government and state economic bodies should continue their work in raising wages. It is being proposed that the economic independence of state enterprises be extended, that privatization [razgosudarstvleniye] of property and its transformation into joint stock holdings be speeded up, and that it be transferred to the labor collectives.

The trade unions also support the demands of a number of work forces for a discussion by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies of the political, social, and economic situation in the country, the question of no confidence in the USSR president, and the adoption of emergency measures to stabilize the situation.

Answering journalists' questions, Vladimir Goncharik rejected accusations from the strike committees that the trade unions are trailing after events and doing nothing. According to him, they started a dialogue with the government at the right time. The door to participation in this conversation was open, but the strike committees ignored the possibility.

Particular concern is aroused by the economic basis for decisions by the Belorussia Council of Ministers, in Vladimir Goncharik's opinion. About 6 billion rubles are needed to implement them, but Belorussia's annual budget has been drawn up with a deficit of 3.5 billion. He sees only one way out in this situation: to sharply increase the production of goods in all areas of the national economy, and to cut back hard on various expenditures.

Kebich Explains Belorussian Price Increases

91UN1237A Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 30 Mar 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "We Shall Display Self-Control and Understanding: Statement by Chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers V.F. Kebich on 28 March on Belorussian SSR Television"]

[Text] Dear fellow countrymen!

I am making this appeal to you at a time that is difficult for all of us. We are on the threshold of an extremely complex event that will affect each family and each person. You are aware that the question is that beginning 2 April a very new system of retail prices will go into force.

I shall not go into all the reasons for the fact that existing prices reflect neither the actual cost of production nor the relationship between supply and demand, nor the level of world prices. These reasons have been debated quite heatedly in society—in the press, at meetings, in smoking rooms, and indeed even simply at the kitchen table. To what you know I would like to add the following.

It would be quite incorrect to believe that the reform of retail prices has been undertaken at the initiative of the republic government. Nothing of the kind. Many circumstances of an objective nature have brought us to this heavy burden. And in most cases they do not depend on the Council of Ministers of Belorussia.

What are these circumstances? As long ago as 1988 the Union Government started to raise wholesale prices, and without taking counsel with the republics. The largest and often uncontrolled burst in this process occurred during the latter half of last year.

Wholesale prices for raw materials and fuel-and-energy resources and for metal doubled or tripled, and sometimes jumped even higher than that. And as you are aware, our republic has to import many resources.

This has become a heavy weight pressing on the agrarian sector and the output of consumer goods, and even a significant increase in purchase prices in agriculture was unable to relieve that pressure.

Naturally, this entire chain depends on the cost of producing food, light industry articles, in short, all the things essential for life. More than half of the goods and almost all the foodstuffs, the transportation of passengers, and much else have become unprofitable.

Given the extremely stressed budget in order to partially cover these losses, the republic government has been forced to find almost half a billion rubles [R]. And it is not just the question of the enormous losses. The country's totally deranged economic mechanism has led to the many other adverse consequences that we all feel every day.

Production is falling, and in the consumer market an enormous mass of money many times greater than the actual goods available is producing great pressure. This tornado of money is literally sweeping everything along in its path. It is difficult to hold it back with shoppers' cards, coupons and other barriers.

Ultimately this has all led to a need for a radical reform of retail prices. But of course, it has been necessary to carry it out simultaneously all over the country, not least because under the conditions of a single economic medium and a single monetary system, a different level of prices would lead to even greater chaos in the economy.

Unfortunately, for a long time our approach to and understanding of the problem were not accepted by the center. In this situation, the Government of Belorussia, acting in close cooperation with the trade unions, tried with all the means available to it to provide maximum social protection for the interests of the republic's population.

Here, I would like to emphasize that our approaches to price reform have been comprehensively discussed at a session of the parliament, and have been carefully weighed. This has made it possible through our combined efforts to draw up a set of compensation measures that is broader than that envisaged by the USSR Cabinet of Ministers.

First of all let me say that the living wage has been set at R125 instead of the R114 planned earlier. Conditions have been created in which compensation payments will run ahead. Funding sources have been found on an immediate basis for all enterprises and organizations that do not have the necessary assets for this.

As far as the enterprises are concerned, our principle is this: With the introduction of the new wage rates and salaries, each enterprise determines their sizes within the limits of its own financial possibilities. Naturally, at no lower than the minimum level guaranteed by the state, namely R60.

Giving due consideration to the social importance of the basic kinds of housing and municipal services, we have decided that the rates for them will not be increased, although, as is known, these services are operating at a loss even now. And in contrast to the rest of the country, the existing retail prices for peat and peat- and-coal bricks have been retained.

With the permission of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers, the subsidies for meat, dairy, and fish products, medicines, and certain other goods and services are being partly retained for this year. We have also added sugar to that list. As a result, the total amount of subsidies for the year will be R3.7 billion, including R200 million for sugar.

We also deem it extremely important that the new retail prices for food and nonfood goods be the same for the

cities and rural localities. For example, the consumer cooperative movement will be selling meat and meat products in the countryside at the same prices as in the cities. And for goods marketed by the consumer cooperative movement in rural localities, the earlier additional payment for delivery will be abolished.

Increasing retail prices for food will undoubtedly affect the price level in public catering. Let me be candid: The government is very concerned, and we are therefore insistently recommending that economic managers and labor collectives offer the maximum compensation possible for the additional costs of workers dining halls, using assets of enterprises and organizations. Many associations and plants are already moving toward this. Local authorities should also find opportunities in their own budgets partially to hold down the cost of breakfasts and dinners in school and student snack bars and dining halls.

One special focus of our attention is the interests of the population affected by the Chernobyl catastrophe. The republic Council of Ministers has made provision, first, that this population should be provided, in addition to monetary compensation, with various kinds of social assistance provided by local organs and enterprises. And second, it has assigned the Belorussian SSR State Committee for the Problems of Chernobyl and the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Finance, jointly with the oblast executive committees, to resolve within the Union organs, as quickly as possible, all matters pertaining to increasing compensation payments to that population using funds from the Union budget.

The republic Ministry of Finance will, as assigned by the government, resolve on a priority basis questions connected with funding sources for compensation payments to workers at low- profitability or unprofitable enterprises, kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms], and cultural and sports facilities of the republic Federation of Trade Unions, and other organizations that do not have assets of their own.

We are talking about almost R1 billion from both the budget and from the enterprises and organizations. The republic government has also given permission to allocate for this purpose 50 percent of the residues of economic incentive funds reserved earlier, which it was planned to use to acquire state property when it is privatized during the process of the switch to a market economy.

Well, what happens if, notwithstanding, enterprises and organizations do not have the wherewithal to pay compensation? In such cases the National Bank of Belorussia has made provision for loans at preferential rates of interest to be made available by both specialized and commercial banks.

With respect to kolkhozes and sovkhozes, here it is a special issue. This year, for the compensation payments they must of necessity be granted loans under a budget guarantee. Over nine months more than R700 million will be required for this.

There is one more special feature in our approach. The republic Supreme Soviet recently decided to increase partially the paid leave for women to care for children from one-and-a-half to three years of age, if the child is not placed in a preschool facility, with payment of an amount equal to the minimum wages, that is, R70. This payment for working women is now being increased R40.

Virtually all families will be affected by this next issue. Prices for children's goods are increasing several times over. This is being done because for a long time these have been loss items for us here, and under various pretexts enterprises have tried to avoid producing them. But we cannot have families suffering from such rapid price increases. And within the Union decision, the republic government has found an opportunity to lift the restrictions on compensation payments for families with children. All families in which there are children who have not yet attained their majority, regardless of income, will receive compensation.

Thus, the total amount of additional compensation payments for the public in the republic through just budget assets alone will amount to more than R3 billion by the end of this year. And here, the expenditure side of the budget has been confirmed in the amount of R20.5 billion, with a 20-percent deficit.

It is well known how unpopular the sales tax established by the president of the country has been. It has led to greater additional spending by the population, and moreover has greatly complicated purchaser accounts. Taking this into consideration, the republic government has decided that from 2 April this year sales tax will not be applied to meat and meat products, except for delicatessen items, milk and dairy products, bread and bakery items, groats, flour, macaroni products, eggs, sugar, and salt, and also nonfood goods for children, payments for apartments and places in hostels, and child care in preschool facilities.

I must also say a word about indexing of the population's income. As is known, this measure is being implemented only in our republic. The Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet has passed a special law for this. For the period January-February the consumer price index rose 11.1 percent according to the Belorussian SSR State Committee for Statistics, while indexation is triggered when price rises reach five percent. The calculations show that because of indexation, during March, in addition to compensation payments, the republic's population will be receiving an average of about R20, depending on the level of wages or other monetary income.

These are the additional measures to provide social protection for the population, which, I repeat once again, have been established only in our republic.

In my statement I have concentrated mainly on the negative aspects of the price reform. But it should be said that the root of these negative phenomena is to be found mainly in the general disorder of our entire economy. We are convinced, however, that as the market is established and developed, the ideas inherent in the price reform will ultimately make it possible to unshackle economic relations, and will become a powerful incentive to transform the national economy on a quite new qualitative basis.

But of course, we are counting on the price reform helping to direct economic processes into a normal channel, and provide solid incentives for efficient work, and ultimately ensure a rise in the population's standard of living. We hope that the price reform will make it possible in the very near future to remove the so-called "barriers on the road."

The burdens that are today being laid on people's shoulders should be only temporary. Today this is precisely the main task for the republic government, which shares the concern and alarm of the people.

Today, the situation with respect to the republic's economy is very complex. Enterprises are feeling increasingly the consequences of the great confusion that reigns today in many parts of the country. And to this we must add the miners' strikes and the stoppages among the metallurgists associated with them.

Accordingly, all our efforts should be directed at saving the republic's national economy from collapse, and at halting the decline in production and beginning to extricate ourselves from the crisis. The government is now urgently engaged in providing funding for the measures that will make it possible to protect the republic economy against any random events, and to weaken its dependence on deliveries of subassemblies and many other kinds of materials that are obtained from other regions.

Simultaneously, interrepublic and international economic links are being expanded and strengthened on a new basis. And this is being done both through the government, insuring the republic's state sovereignty, and through enterprises and organizations.

It goes without saying that the most important goal of these immeasurably revived contacts is to saturate our meager market with goods. To this end, the latest technologies are being acquired, primarily for the processing industry, and associations and enterprises producing cultural and everyday and domestic goods are being reconstructed. The republic has concluded treaties on broad economic and political cooperative with Russia, the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Kirghizstan. Broad prospects can be seen in our relations with Japan, Italy, the FRG, and the United States.

I am sure that if the government is given the opportunity to conclude what has been started, we shall change the situation in the republic. People, all our Belorussian people, will feel this in the near future. The main thing today, comrades, is to display prudence and not to yield to our emotions or provocative appeals.

Let me say to you with absolute candor that the republic government has done everything possible to soften the blow of the price reform. It has done more than in any other part of the country. Of this I am absolutely certain.

Of course, the time ahead will be difficult. Why has it happened? History will provide the answer to that question. But today, self-control is important. We have experienced more difficult times than this in our history.

Let us display calm, cohesion, and understanding. We shall work and we shall win through and extricate ourselves from the abyss of crisis. I have no doubt of this, just as I have no doubt about the understanding that you will show in this time of such difficulty for the motherland.

Belorussian KGB Chief Views Future of Agency

PM0504114291 Moscow IAN PRESS RELEASE in English

[Interview with Belorussian KGB Chairman Eduard Shirkovskiy by IZVESTIYA correspondent Mikhail Shimanskiy; place, date not given; first paragraph is introduction: "Do Not Be Afraid of the KGB"]

[Text] IZVESTIYA correspondent, Mikhail Shimanskiy, talks with chairman of the Belorussian KGB, Eduard Shirkovskiy, who was elected to his post to the MPs' loud applause.

QUESTION: How are you going to restructure your agency? What are the current tasks facing the Belorussian KGB? And what are the problems facing you?

ANSWER: We are seeking an adequate place in our changing society and are trying to define the KGB'S role in it with as few mistakes as possible. Naturally, we inextricably link our work with the economic, social and moral aspects of perestroika. And of course, it is our sacred duty to enhance law and order. The readers of the weekly Soyuz must not think that in Belorussia, a republic which has always been known for stability in all spheres of life, there is peace and quiet. Not at all. As elsewhere in the Soviet Union the situation in Belorussia is changing so rapidly that it is even difficult to follow the developments closely.

The situation in "hospitable and warm" Belorussia is not what it was six months and even four weeks ago. Strenuous efforts are being made to fan anti-communist moods, there are calls to outlaw the communist party and to show civil disobedience. The socio-economic problems are worsening daily. At the same time, the people who have scored political points by denouncing the so-called apparatus, are busy building an apparatus of their own for seizing power. Under the cover of the "perestroika" rhetoric, some are making attempts to

discredit our state institutions: the soviets of all levels, the armed forces and the state security bodies. Why this is being done is absolutely clear. And this, naturally, troubles the people who are trying to find answers to the cardinal questions: What is happening and what will happen tomorrow to our country, to the republic and to all of us?

The radically new political setting prompts the chief tasks of the state security bodies. Take, for instance, Belorussia's broadening foreign contacts in the political, scientific, technical, cultural and other fields. International cooperation and information exchanges involve more and more Belorussian and foreign citizens. State control over different spheres of life has been lifted and free contacts between people are broadening. During a year, the Belorussian borders are crossed by more than 6 million passengers. All this must be encouraged. At the same time, foreign secret services have got new opportunities for carrying out intelligence operations against the republic.

I would like to remind you what director of the CIA, Mr. Webster, said. As a result of perestroika, openness and democratization, he said, conditions have been created which we must fully use to learn all the secrets and non-secrets and everything we are interested in. We feel that foreign secret services are running massive secret operations. For instance, many businessmen keep coming to Belorussia for what they say commercial purposes or for setting up joint ventures. They collect a great deal of information in different establishments, allegedly for joint work, and go away, having done nothing practically. How do we respond to this? We have restructured our agency in view of objective circumstances, and stepped up our counter-intelligence efforts.

Let me say once again. We are for detente and cooperation in Europe. At the same time, the materials available in the republic's KGB show that the most reactionary Western quarters and their secret services have not renounced confrontation. They are trying to undermine the Soviet economic and defence potential, destabilize the domestic political situation; discredit the communist party and instigate nationalist and other hostile actions.

QUESTION: Aren't you overly exaggerating the situation? Don't you think that this hostile activity is imaginary. We have removed the veil of secrecy from many spheres of our life, haven't we?

ANSWER: As far as foreign secret services' intelligence and subversive operations go, let me, a professional and the chief of the republic's KGB, judge about them. The Western secret services' attention to our republic is stable. For instance, we have exposed the recruitment technique, used by American secret services in relation to Belorussian diplomats during their stay abroad. The goal of this technique is to involve them in "cooperation". We took urgent measures and foiled those actions.

One more example. In Moscow, KGB officers from Belorussia and the centre caught red-handed attache of the US embassy in the USSR, Louis Thomas, when he handed to an earlier recruited resident of the Gomel region, an instruction on how to remove objects from a hiding place. The subsequent investigation produced materials fully exposing the activity of the American diplomat incompatible with his official status. For his espionage activity Louis Thomas was declared persona non grata.

As to the secrets... at one time we used to make secret of everything. Now, as you know, the situation is radically changing. But we must strictly safeguard the secrets for which foreigners, companies and secret services have been hunting all along. Many of our officials seem to have lost their vigilance, thinking that in an open society there can be no secrets. I can tell you honestly that the best know-how and even discoveries are flowing out of the republic. We work tactfully in this area because we must not spoil foreign economic cooperation or raise obstacles on its way. At the same time we need to safeguard our secrets.

Or take commercial secrets. The republic is making its way to the world market. We are inexperienced traders, however. Our people come from abroad and say that we are buying things at higher prices than we are selling them. Moreover, we often buy goods of inferior quality. We must know the market situation. And we are in need of a law protecting commercial secrets. In foreign countries major companies have their own counter-intelligence departments, whose job is to protect the commercial secrets. Representatives of these companies, when it comes to scientific cooperation, often refuse to deal with us because we have no experience in safeguarding commercial and technological secrets.

QUESTION: Both the renewal of our society and the new tasks set before security bodies call for better work. What will you as chairman of the republican KGB do in this connection?

ANSWER: The main question is that in modern conditions security bodies should be more law-abiding, mobile, competent and professional than ever. Only in this case will we cope with the great amount of work which differs radically from what we used to do. And we are changing correspondingly. A few examples.

Taking into account the quickly changing situation, we are re-grouping our personnel and facilities employed in counter- intelligence operations. We are sophisticating a new concept related to the protection of state and commercial secrets. We are taking additional measures in combating organised crime, which is becoming ever more professional and daring in the republic, and is acquiring an inter-regional and international features.

Another important moment. I am convinced that security bodies should fight for and not against personalities, even if the latter are in the wrong.

QUESTION: What about struggle against economic sabotage?

ANSWER: It is a new and complicated task. Our KGB has established strict control over the delivery, transportation, storage and distribution of consumer goods and foodstuffs. We are working in close contact with bodies of the Interior Ministry and the procurator's offices.

QUESTION: Do you have to learn new methods to fulfil these tasks?

ANSWER: Of course. It is only in movies that security officers can do anything easily. It is much more difficult in real life. New problems and tasks call for constantly improving our skills. I mean above all precise knowledge of laws, including international law, as well as economic, sociological and other information. This is a part of a retraining course for our personnel. We don't have to encourage them to study, life itself is the best prompter.

QUESTION: Glasnost has opened the doors of security bodies, but was it enough?

ANSWER: To be frank, it was not enough. We have not yet removed the veil of secrecy from our work. Hence the suspicion which our work incites. We are working to change this situation. You probably know that our committee has held a great deal of meetings at enterprises, institutions and farms. We are telling the people about our work.

Moreover, we invite people to meetings in the building of the republican KGB. Remember the meeting with republican journalists? For the first time they gathered in the hall of the Belorussian KGB, where working meetings and sittings of the collegium were held before.

QUESTION: The journalists joked that they were given a possibility to interrogate the KGB.

ANSWER: An apt description. The leaders of the republican KGB tried to answer all questions.

We have established a public relations department of the Belorussian KGB. It will inform the people of the republic about our work, both achievements, shortcomings and problems. We must provide the people with unbiased information about security bodies. The law on state security and the republican KGB will determine the procedure for giving access to our archives.

QUESTION: You must have heard the calls for getting rid of the KGB or saw corresponding slogans at meetings in Minsk. What can you say about them?

ANSWER: The destructive political forces operating in our republic well understand that the existence of an active army, KGB and Ministry of the Interior is the main barrier to seizing power illegally. I can assume that there are people who do not have enough information about our work. Our committee is for constructive dialogue with all socio-political movements which hold dear the interests of the people - and I mean it. We are prepared to meet with them and discuss the acute problems of our development, and will welcome interesting proposals.

QUESTION: It seems that nobody fears the KGB now. Is this good or bad?

ANSWER: Very good. Why should they fear us? Mistrust will disappear for good when security bodies uphold the truth and nothing but the truth. Let our every action, every success increase the prestige of security bodies among the people. As you see, everything depends on us.

[IAN footnote: Soyuz, No. 11. Abridged]

Concept of Draft Ukraine Constitution Approved

LD3003192991 Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 2200 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Excerpts] The draft concept of a new Ukraine constitution was examined today in Kiev by the Constitutional Commission of the republican legislature. Our correspondent Mykola Marynenko visited the session:

[Begin recording] [Passage omitted] I have this document in front of me. It appears from reading it that eight sections have to be included in our new constitution. I will only present several of them as an example. First, the working group of experts and deputies considers the following name of the new constitution to be the most acceptable: The Constitution of the Republic of Ukraine. [passage omitted]

In accordance with the state sovereignty declaration, the Ukraine is defined as a sovereign state, the essence of which is the power of the people. The form of the state government is a presidential republic. The form of the state system is a unitary one. There are human rights which were not declared in a previous constitution. These are in particular: the right to live; the right for protection from acts of torture and other sorts of behavior and punishment which are cruel, inhuman, or humiliating; the right to leave any country; and the right to return to this country. The Ukraine Supreme Soviet—the legislature—has to perform the functions of a legislative power. It should consist of two houses which function permanently—the House of the People and the House of Representatives. In the section on national security there are clauses about the Ukraine's nonalignment with military blocs and its permanently neutral and nonnuclear status. It is envisaged to create a new system of executive power in principle, which has to be exercised by a president, vice president of the republic, a cabinet of ministers, and a state administration.

This draft concept of the new Ukraine constitution has been adopted by an overwhelming majority of votes. [passage omitted]

I asked Levko Lukyanenko to share his thoughts regarding the draft concept of the new Ukraine Constitution which has been adopted. Levko Hruhorovych, you are a member of the Constitutional Commission, therefore you were, as they say, at the outset of this concept's birth.

[Lukyanenko] On the one hand, one would like to create a constitution of an independent Ukrainian Republic using the state sovereignty declaration as a guide. On the other hand, we understand very well that in fact we completely depend on Moscow and we are a colony. Therefore, is it possible to create a document of an independent Ukrainian Republic being a colony without freedom? It is possible to create a document, but the constitution itself and the Constitutional Commission cannot make an independent state from a colony. Therefore, I see this draft constitution as a draft. It is not finished yet and it is necessary to continue working on it. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Radioactivity in Ukraine Remains 'Problematic'

LD1004194591 Moscow TASS in English 1757 GMT 10 Apr 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Aleksey Petrunya]

[Text] Kiev April 10 TASS—Five years after the Chernobyl disaster the radioactive situation in the Ukraine remains problematic despite all the large-scale decontamination and medical measures. Until now we don't know the real consequences of the Chernobyl tragedy, Yuriy Spizhenko, the Ukrainian health minister, told TASS.

1.5 million people still live in contaminated areas. There are 460 thousand children among them, the minister noted. 93.5 thousand people were evacuated from the contaminated areas in the past five years. 40 thousand are to be resettled.

Doctors have done a lot to fight Chernobyl-related diseases, the minister said. All those affected by radiation are being registered, outpatient medical treatment is rendered to them. The health of those living in contaminated areas, first and foremost residents of the Kiev, Zhitomir and Roven districts, is monitored by a special radiation control system. Special clincs were created, medical equipment and medicines were bought abroad. The Ukrainian diaspora in the U.S. and Canada has rendered a great amount of help.

All this made it possible to halve the influence of ionized radiation on people, the level of diseases has been stable for the last four years and in some areas it seems to be decreasing, the minister said.

Research showed at the same time that the situation in the contaminated areas is still serious, Yuriy Spizhenko warned. The health of those affected by radiation worsens. The disease rate among them has grown by 45 per cent as compared to 1988, and the death rate—by 25 per cent. Blood, thyroid and endocrine diseases are widespread.

The republican health ministry plans to continue resettling people from contaminated areas and providing safe conditions for those who wish to stay there, the minister said.

Caucasus

Unrest After Georgian Independence Move Continues

Troops in Villages, Disarm Militia

AU1004161591 Tbilisi Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 10 Apr 91

[Text] It was relatively quiet in Tskhinvali and neighboring villages on 9 April. Sporadic shooting was heard only at night. However, on the morning of 10 April, two armored personnel carriers of the internal troops entered the village of Eredvi. The people who got out of these carriers entered the village houe of culture and ransacked the working rooms that rayon procurator David Kikinadze was temporarily using. [passage indistinct] from various regions of the Soviet Union, subunits of internal troops were stationed in Tskhinvali and adhered to a neutral position. This morning, the leadership of these subunits informed Tengiz Epitashvili, military commandant of the town, that, as of today, they only will supervise peoples' access to and departure from the town, that is to say, they will do what the Georgian militia used to do.

Today, Vladimir Gugulashvili, chief of the Georgian Interior Ministry Press Center got in touch with our editorial board and told us that, in the morning, units of the USSR Interior Ministry Internal Troops entered Tamarasheni, Kekhvi, Achabeti, and other Georgian villages in Tskhinvali rayon and disarmed representatives of the Georgian militia who were there. In spite of this, the Georgian militia did not abandon its posts either at the entrance to Tskhinvali or in the Georgian villages in Samachablo.

Troops' 'Pogrom' in Village

LD1004185291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1725 GMT 10 Apr 91

[Text] Tbilisi, 10 April (TASS)—The situation in Tskhinvali has once again started to heat up since this morning, according to the press center of the Georgian Ministry of Internal Affairs.

As has been confirmed by a correspondent of the SAKINFORM agency, a sub-unit of the USSR internal forces entered the village of Eredvi in two armored personnel carriers and "carried out a pogrom" in the offices of the region's procurator and investigator, who are temporarily housed in the village house of culture.

As the agency has reported, the leadership of the subunits of the internal forces, which have come from various regions of the Soviet Union, "has informed Tenghiz Epitashvili, the military commander of the town, that as of today, they alone will control the entry and exit of people [to and from Tskhinvali]." Prior to this, issues of this nature were handled by the Georgian militia.

Troops Arrest Republic Policemen

AU1004163691 Paris AFP in English 1529 GMT 10 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow, April 10 (AFP)—Soviet Interior Ministry troops on Wednesday arrested 21 Georgian policemen in three villages of the republic's troubled South Ossetian region, Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia said in a message to the republic's mission here.

A mission member told INTERFAX news agency the move was aimed at arresting the official, identified by Georgian authorities, who had declared a state of emergency in South Ossetia.

Mr. Gamsakhurdia, in a telegram to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, last week warned a general strike could break out if Soviet troops who arrived recently in South Ossetia were not withdrawn.

Ossetians and Georgians have repeatedly clashed in South Ossetia's Tskhinvali region since December.

Authorities in Tbilisi, capital of Georgia, insist that the region remain under Georgian rule despite Ossetian calls for full autonomy.

Strike Protests Troops' Actions

LD1004123691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1205 GMT 10 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Igor Gvritishvili]

[Text] Moscow 10 April (TASS)—A general political strike is planned to be held in Georgia today. The TASS correspondent was told this in the republic's permanent representative office in Moscow, which cited a telephone conversation with Zviad Gamsakhurdia, chairman of the republican Supreme Soviet. The actions of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] troops recently brought into South Ossetia were the reasons for the strike, according to the Georgian representative.

As has already been reported, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs troops are insuring the delivery of foodstuff and other cargoes from the territory of Northern Ossetia into the town of Tskhinvali, the administrative center of South Ossetia, which has been blockaded as a result of interethnic conflict.

TV Halts 'Vremya' Broadcast

LD1004224291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2005 GMT 10 Apr 91

[Text] Georgian television stopped broadcasting the "Vremya" program on 7 April. The decision was made after an opinion poll conducted by local television journalists showed that viewers, to say the least, are not satisfied with the way "Vremya" reports on events in South Ossetia.

Leader Blames Moscow for Ossetia

LD1004162791 Hamburg DPA in German 1531 GMT 10 Apr 91

[Text] Saarbruecken (DPA)—Today, one day after the declaration of Georgian independence, Georgian Supreme Soviet Chairman Zviad Gamsakhurdia accused the Soviet leadership of provoking the Ossetian uprising and of trying to split Ossetia away from Georgia. In an interview with Saarland Radio, the Georgian leader accused Moscow of equipping the Ossetians with heavy offensive weapons, including missiles, on a massive scale to this end. Ten to twelve Georgian villages were encircled by the rebels. So far the conflict has claimed over 100 lives on the Georgian side alone. During the interview Gamsakhurdia rejected negotiations with the Ossetians to end the conflict.

An edited version of the interview was made available to DPA.

Railway, Dock Workers Strike

LD1104102491 Berlin ADN in German 0931 GMT 11 Apr 91

[Excerpts] Moscow (ADN)—This morning railway workers in the western part of the Caucasus Republic of Georgia and dock workers in the Black Sea ports of Batumi, Suchumi, and Poti began an indefinite strike. A spokesman from the Georgian news agency SAKINFORM told ADN's Moscow office that the strikers are calling for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet military units from South Ossetia. [passage omitted]

Workers from several large enterprises under the control of central government in Moscow have also joined the railway and dock workers' strike. For example, around 10,000 workers at the car factory in Kutaissi have stopped work. Among their demands is the resignation of USSR President Gorbachev.

Ministry on Blockade Removal

LD1004182691 Moscow TASS in English 1737 GMT 10 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow April 10 TASS—Georgia's permanent envoy to Moscow said that the general political strike in the Georgia [as received] had been prompted by the actions of interior troops of the Soviet Union in South Ossetia. TASS turned for the clarification of this statement to the press centre of the USSR Interior Ministry.

Spokesman for the Interior Ministry Troops Major-General Alexander Zaitsev said: "On orders from the USSR Cabinet of Ministers, USSR interior troop units are now engaged in the operation to remove the economic blockade of Tskhinvali."

"During action to remove road blocks and let through motor vehicles loaded with food, fuel, medicines and other essentials, these units located and disbanded illegal armed groups of Georgians and Ossetians. The Interior

Ministry troops seized 106 firearms, more than 3,000 rounds of various ammunition, an armoured vehicle and a 85-millimeter gun. They also detained 25 Georgians and 12 Ossetians. One Ossetian was killed. The investigation is underway. [no closing quotation marks as received]

None of the local inhabitants, either Georgians or Ossetians, expressed dissatisfaction. On the contrary, inhabitants in a number of villages accorded a hearty welcome to servicemen. Statements alleging outrages and inhumane treatment of the detainees by Interior Ministry troops are groundless and are intended to further aggravate the situation in the region.

General Tsagolov on S. Ossetia

PM1104081991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Apr 91 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Major General K. Tsagolov, retired, by Lieutenant Colonel N. Astashkin; place, date not given: " 'Is Tsagolov Training Extremists?' Our Correspondent Puts This Question to the General"]

[Text] A meeting between Major General K. Tsagolov, retired, who flew in from Moscow, and Z. Gassiyevich, first secretary of South Ossetian Georgian Communist Party Obkom [oblast committee], took place recently on the border between North and South Ossetia. Our correspondent talked with the general.

Let us recall that Tsagolov is well-known both in these parts and in Moscow. He is a doctor of philosophical sciences and a professor, and his articles on Afghanistan are well-known to a wide circle of readers. So, the first question...

[Astashkin] What was the conversation in the canyon about?

[Tsagolov] The goal of this meeting was to search for ways of reaching a peaceful settlement of the very serious conflict, a conflict which, I would say, the Georgian nation finds obscene. Genocide and the destruction of a people at the end of the 20th century, in the period of perestroyka, does no honor to anyone. And for this reason ways of settling the conflict peacefully must be sought.

[Astashkin] Obviously B. Yeltsin came to the Northern Caucasus with the same intention. How do you, Kim Makedonovich, rate his meeting with Z. Gamsakhurdia in Kazbegi?

[Tsagolov] I think that Boris Nikolayevich is continuing his policy—a destructive, separatist policy aimed at wrecking the Union... Here he is making a strategic mistake, forgetting that Russia itself is a federation. In conditions where national self-awareness is in the ascendant, this obscene game on the part of the so-called new "center" could lead to a great tragedy.

[Astashkin] What is your assessment of B.N. Yeltsin's statement that he has decided to settle the conflict himself, without waiting for the USSR president to get down to the solution of the South Ossetian problem?

[Tsagolov] In my view, this is also a provocative step. Judge for yourself. Russia and Georgia are autonomous republics which have proclaimed sovereignty. And if Boris Nikolayevich tries to bypass the center and meddle in these affairs, this is nothing less than a provocation against the center.

[Astashkin] B. Yeltsin and Z. Gamsakhurdia have agreed that, to settle the conflict in South Ossetia, a joint commission and a joint detachment of the Georgian and Russian Ministries of Internal Affairs must be set up, and all refugees must be returned to their previous localities. What can you say about this?

[Tsagolov] In principle, I welcome the search for any opportunities, even microscopic ones, to settle this conflict. But I am troubled by these actions and statements which, I would say, overstep the bounds of their prerogative. This can only be evidence of the irresponsibility of such statements. As for the problem of the return of refugees, then first of all it is necessary to set up for the people conditions which befit this people. The Ossetian people do not ask for any "privileged" conditions for themselves.

[Astashkin] And how do you assess the situation in South Ossetia?

[Tsagolov] The situation is critical. If the South Ossetian people do not get real aid now (within constitutional bounds, of course) from the center, then the courage with which people are defending their honor will turn into hatred. I think this may produce serious consequences, not just in South Ossetia but also in the Northern Caucasus as a whole. This could destroy the relative stability in the region.

[Astashkin] Rumors have been circulating recently to the effect that a center for training Ossetian gunmen has been set up somewhere in the vicinity of Mozdok, and that you head it. A blunt question: Is Tsagolov training extremists?

[Tsagolov] You know, I am already accustomed to such rumors. First they declare that I am training gunmen in the Alagira region and sending them to South Ossetia. Then they claim that Tsagolov has brought 6,000 extremists into Tskhinvali. Now Mozdok has cropped up. This is a barefaced, arrant lie aimed at disinforming the public.

[Astashkin] Would you like to explain why the desire for self-determination of the peoples who inhabit South Ossetia is so great?

[Tsagolov] You see, in the conditions arising from the perestroyka processes an upsurge in national self-awareness is, I think, a completely objective phenomenon. This has affected South Ossetia also. And I do not

see anything negative in this, not even for Georgia. I see a people's self-determination like this. Above all, it is the fulfillment of two sacred principles: equality of peoples and freedom of expression of will of peoples. And here I would like to voice the following opinion: What is happening to the Ossetian people in Georgia today could happen to other peoples tomorrow. Because the postulates that are being proclaimed by the current leaders of Georgia—about the purity of Georgia, Georgia for the Georgians, and so forth—suggest far-reaching goals. But this is a lost game.

[Astashkin] And your attitude to Z. Gamsakhurdia as a person?

[Tsagolov] Eviad Konstantinovich has held the same line all his life. He is not a turncoat—I hate them. He is a strong person. But at the moment he has chosen the wrong road. I have one wish for Z. Gamsakhurdia: In one of his sketches his father, Konstantin Gamsakhurdia, wrote about the great bellringer of the people. If the Georgian people have chosen Eviad Konstantinovich as their bellringer, he must consider the fate of the Georgian people, the honor of the Georgian people, and its future. To live the way he plans—by fire and bloodshed—is impossible. I am convinced of this.

Gamsakhurdia: Georgia Still Seeks Union Ties

LD1004115691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1110 GMT 10 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 10 Apr (TASS)—Georgia is not breaking off all relations with the Soviet Union. That is the essence of a message by Zviad Gamsakhurdia, chairman of Georgia's legislature, to USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev, in connection with yesterday's declaration by the Supreme Soviet of Georgia claiming the republic's independence. It is the fifth republic in the country to declare independence.

The message says that Georgia, relying on new principles, "is ready to continue to develop mutually advantageous economic and political relations both with the Soviet Union as a whole and with individual republics that are part of it."

For Georgia, a small republic with a population of 5 million, scarce natural resources, and hotbeds of ethnic conflict, any other approach to relations with the Soviet Union would be tantamount to suicide. To survive, it needs the help of its northern neighbor, from which it receives 94 percent of its grain, 76 percent of its milk, 40 percent of its meat, and almost all its cheap oil and gas.

Georgian Legislator: Independence 'Irreversible'

LD1004145791 Moscow TASS in English 1444 GMT 10 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Igor Gvritshvili]

[Text] Moscow April 10 TASS—By proclaiming state independence on April 9, the Georgian parliament took its first step towards full independence, a Georgian MP told a press conference at the Georgian permanent mission in Moscow today.

Levan Alexidze, member of the Georgian Supreme Soviet, said that the parliament's decision was influenced by the results of the republican referendum on March 31, when more than 90 per cent of voters said "yes" to the reestablishment of Georgian state independence. The international community can render a lot of moral support during the attainment of that goal, said Alexidze, who also claimed that "the superpowers still support the centre." He also stressed that "the process of reestablishing Georgian independence is irreversible."

Alexidze said that the only way to settle the South Ossetian conflict, where armed clashes are taking place between Georgian and Ossetian militants, is "to disarm the fighting sides simultaneously. Soviet interior ministry troops may be used for that. Ossetian leaders must renounce their plans to secede from Georgia."

Gamsakhurdia Receives Landsbergis Congratulations

AU1004161491 Tbilisi Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 10 Apr 91

[Text] Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, sent a congratulatory telegram to Zviad Gamsakhurdia, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia on the adoption of the Act on the Restoration of Georgian State Independence. Commenting upon this document, Vytautas Landsbergis said: The historical fate of Georgia is in many ways similar to the historical course of Lithuania. Georgia is an ancient state, which was annexed by the Russian empire in the 19th century. In 1918, Georgia proclaimed the restoration of its statehood, defended its statehood, and strived to obtain international recognition. Like Lithuania, Georgia signed a peace treaty with Russia in 1920. However, in 1921, Georgia was captured and annexed again. Lithuania managed to avoid such a destiny and gained 20 years of independence. When Georgia was a victim of Stalin's aggression, Lithuania could establish itself, and today it has certain political advantages. However, the danger for the independence of Lithuania and Georgia is the same. From these historical parallels and a common danger that presently prevails, natural solidarity emanates and they enhance our sympathies for the Georgian people.

Georgia Appoints New Ministers, Officials

91P50155A Tbilisi VESTNIK GRUZII in Russian 12 Mar 91 p 2

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi VESTNIK GRUZII in Russian of 12 March 1991 on page 2 carries 10 resolutions of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia, all dated 28 February 1991, on the appointment of ministers and officials for the Government of the Republic of Georgia.

Otar Vladimirovich Kvilitaya (b. 1936, Georgian) is appointed first deputy chairman of the Government of the Republic of Georgia.

Murman Shalvovich Gedenidze (b. 1934, Georgian) is appointed minister of the economy.

Bakar Konayevich Gigineishvili (b. 1933, Georgian) is appointed deputy chairman of the Government of the Republic of Georgia.

Givi Zurabovich Abdushelishvili (b. 1940, Georgian) is appointed minister of industry.

David Vardenovich Nakani (b. 1949, Georgian) is appointed minister of ecology and the utilization of natural resources.

Guram Zaalovich Mirianashvili (b. 1927, Georgian) is appointed minister of architecture and construction.

Manana Grigoryevna Dzodzuashvili (b. 1945, Georgian) is appointed minister of public health and social security.

Nikolay Nikolayevich Yashvili (b. 1936, Georgian) is appointed minister of agriculture and forestry.

Anzor Mikhaylovich Chlikadze (b. 1945, Georgian) is appointed minister of the food and food processing industry.

Tamaz Valeryanovich Gugushvili (b. 1946, Georgian) is appointed minister of labor, social protection, and demography.

The feature also includes an undated SAKINFORM report of a resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia releasing Irakliy Afinogenovich Menagarishvili at his own request from the office of minister of public health and social security.

New Name for Georgian Supreme Soviet Newspaper

LD1004130691 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1000 GMT 10 Apr 91

[Text] SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA [FREE GEORGIA] is today the name of the mouthpiece of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia, the newspaper VESTNIK GRUZII [GEORGIA HERALD], which only a few months ago went by the name of ZARYA VOSTOKA [DAWN OF THE EAST]. The decision on this was adopted after the republic's legislature proclaimed the restoration of Georgia's state independence.

Soldier Seriously Injured in NKAO Shooting

LD1004205191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1900 GMT 10 Apr 91

[Text] Overnight there was shooting at the Armenian village of (Yekhtsahog) in the Shushinskiy Rayon of Nagorno-Karabakh, and at three military posts, including the one guarding the hotel near Stepanakert occupied by the commander of the NKAO rayon where there is a state of emergency, which lie adjacent to rayons in the Republic of Azerbaijan. Private Kuznetsov was seriously injured. In all cases, the servicemen of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs returned fire. The law enforcement bodies are investigating.

Armenian Official on Nagorno-Karabakh Problem

LD1004212491 Moscow TASS in English 2051 GMT 10 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Ruben Shirinyan]

[Text] Moscow April 10 TASS—"The Government of Armenia seeks to stabilise situation in areas which border on Azerbaijan. Conciliation commissions consisting of representatives of both the Armenian and Azerbaijani sides have been set there on our initiative," Felix Mamikonyan, member of the Armenian Government and permanent representative of Armenia in the USSR Cabinet of Ministers, told TASS today.

The existence of the conciliation commissions and of direct contact between Armenian and Azerbaijani border areas makes it possible to promptly settle arising problems and avert brewing conflicts, he said.

However, on the whole, the situation in border areas and in Nagorno-Karabakh, which is populated mainly by Armenians, still remains rather strained, Mamikonyan said.

Three years that have been passed since the outbreak of the conflict have patently shown that attempts to resolve the problem by pressure tactics are prospectless, he added.

"In our view, it is necessary to immediately stop the military escalation in Nagorno-Karabakh and do away with the practice of manning Soviet Army units stationed on the border with Armenia by Azerbajanis.

"The only way to get out of the crisis is to immediately restore the legitimate power bodies in Nagorno-Karabakh and together with them to look for political ways to settle the conflict," Mamikonyan said.

Armenian KGB on Azerbaijan Border Incidents

LD1004171891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1609 GMT 10 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 10 Apr (TASS)—The situation on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan has again been seriously aggravated of late. As is noted in a report by the public relations department of the Armenia KGB distributed today, this is shown by the increasingly frequent shootings and attacks from the Azerbaijani side on border districts of Armenia.

In March 31 shootings against population centers, pastures, and individual motor vehicles, were reported while 13 shootings were noted in the first eight days of April.

The Armenia KGB notes that the central press reported an incident on 1 April on the border of the two republics, during which 15 "Armenian militants" were allegedly killed and their motor vehicles, including "an armored bus" were seized.

The report of the public relations department goes on to point out that this information has been checked by officials of the Armenia KGB, and the representatives of the military units were unable to show them either the seized "trophies" or the bodies of the militants.

In fact, on 7 April on the border of Kapani Rayon, Armenia, and Kubatly Rayon, Azerbaijan, a shoot-out occurred after the Azerbaijani side fired on at the motor vehicle of a squad of Armenia Ministry of Internal Affairs. Six persons from the Armenian side were wounded and one went missing. The report by the public relations department of the KGB makes the reservation that all this information is preliminary; it needs the most careful investigation, which should be conducted by a neutral side, in particular, the military authorities. The tension on the border cannot help affecting the life of the population of adjoining districts, where spring field work has begun. In the April firings on Armenian villages and agricultural lands, according to the Armenia KGB, machine guns and artillery pieces were used as well as automatic weapons.

Armenia's Ter-Petrosyan Receives Turkish Envoy

NC1004144691 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 9 Apr 91

[Text] Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet, received the Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to the USSR Volkan Vural on 8 April.

During the talks the chairman of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet briefed the ambassador about the political situation and economic conditions in Armenia, and about measures being undertaken in various spheres. He explained the position of the Armenian authorities on the political processes taking place in the republic and the Soviet Union and on the political and economic relations between the republics.

Ambassador Volkan Vural provided information about the position of the Turkish Government on the reforms being observed in the Soviet Union and in individual republics, in particular those bordering Turkey. He stressed the Turkish side's readiness to establish normal ties with Armenia within the framework of the European security and cooperation process and the proposed Black Sea economic cooperation program. He also noted that the Turkish Republic is ready to activate ties with Armenia in the sphere of economy, communications, tourism, and culture, in particular as regards the protection of the Armenian historical monuments on Turkish territory.

At the end of the meeting Levon Ter-Petrosyan noted that Armenia is ready to enter into negotiations with all the bordering states, including Turkey, with the aim of activating the mutual ties in the fields of trade, economy and tourism.

Present at the meeting were Davit Vardanyan, chairman of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet Standing Commission on Foreign Relations; Acting Foreign Minister Ashot Yegiazaryan, and other officilas.

Central Asia

Kirghiz Vice President on Relations With Moscow

PM0504161591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Apr 91 p 1

[Interview with German Kuznetsov, vice president of the Republic of Kirghizia, by K. Bayalinov in Bishkek; date unspecified: "Moscow Is Silent; It Has Probably Taken Umbrage..."]

[Text] A medium-sized office, skillfully finished in expensive kinds of wood. In the walls you can just about see the heads of nails where portraits of the founding fathers and their worthy disciples hung until recently. Now there is only a map of Kyrgyzstan.

Curators from the CPSU Central Committee used to reside here. They decided key cadre questions. It was here that they tried to "break" the present occupant, intimidating him with unpredictable consequences for his involvement in the opposition.

The following facts are from the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA dossier:

German Kuznetsov, vice president of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan. A member of the CPSU. Married, two children. Russian, 43 years of age.

He first came to Frunze in summer 1987 as part of a large group of party workers from the center. Only three men from this team are still here today: Kuznetsov himself, the head of the Central Committee Organization Department, and the public prosecutor.

He has been through railroad technical college, the Army, a degree course at evening classes, and postgraduate studies. He is a candidate of economic sciences. He has worked at a Siberian defense enterprise. Like President of Kyrgyzstan A. Akayev (an academician-physicist), he stayed in the same place for a long time. This was followed by a meteoric career as a Komsomol and party worker.

As far as his political beliefs are concerned, he is a left-of-center radical. He earns 1,200 rubles per month.

[Bayalinov] Is your election a tribute to tradition (the second-in-command in the republic is always a Russian) or a recognition of your services?

[Kuznetsov] Both.

[Bayalinov] What do you feel is the state of relations between Russians and Kirghiz in the capital and the republic as a whole?

[Kuznetsov] Perfectly normal. Not without friction, of course, but there are no special problems.

[Bayalinov] It has become the tradition that the chiefs in Moscow congratulate the "new man" on the day of his election, wish him well, and offer friendly advice....

[Kuznetsov] No, no one from the center has congratulated me. No one telephoned that day and no one has telephoned since. Apart from my friends, of course.

[Bayalinov] But is it not usually the case that, before any senior appointment, the candidate is interviewed in Moscow?

[Kuznetsov] The decision was made at a session in Frunze—and that was it.

Here are some more facts from the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA dossier:

German Kuznetsov was first sent to Kirghizia to take up the post of second secretary of the capital's city party committee. A good future lay ahead of him: The position of Central Committee second secretary "beckoned." That would perhaps be followed by a comfortable office on the Staraya Ploshchad in Moscow. But he did not live up to their trust. They soon lost faith in Kuznetsov: First he was reprimanded and then he was almost dismissed.

A new stage began toward the end of 1990. Kuznetsov became one of the leaders of the Democratic Platform in the republic's parliament. Soon, with popular support, the Democratic Platform accomplished a "velvet revolution."

[Bayalinov] What do you think about the actions in the republic of the "Ligachev team"—as it is known here—of which you were once a "member"? Why, in your view, did it not succeed in carrying its plans through to the end?

[Kuznetsov] The "team" came here to carry out a revolution. In other words, to remodel the old administrative system using the old administrative methods. But it immediately came up against an unexpected obstacle: eastern specifics. It had stolen into someone else's backyard, bringing its own rules and regulations, so to speak. That, I feel, is the reason for the failure of the "Ligachev team," as you call it.

[Bayalinov] All cadre issues are now decided in the republic. Does this mean that Kyrgyzstan has gained political independence?

[Kuznetsov] Of course not. We have simply declared our sovereignty and are just trying to appreciate what this means. We still favor the preservation of a single state but believe that it should be based on different principles.

[Bayalinov] The republic has been caught up in elections, rallies, and celebrations for the last three months. You get the impression that the economy has been completely forgotten. How would you describe the state of Kyrgyzstan's economy?

[Kuznetsov] Critical. The industrial output rate has fallen and a protracted recession in agriculture has set in. What could be done for the economy in such a short space of time? Nothing.

[Bayalinov] Finally, my last question. Does the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee still influence the economy and cadres?

[Kuznetsov] If you mean other than the party economy and party cadres, no, it does not. Or only in some remote places. The republic's new management structure rules out anyone's influence, with the exception of the president, the Supreme Soviet, and the electorate.

Kazakhstan Economic Reform Efforts Doubted

91AA0599A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 3 Apr 91 p 3

[Article by RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA correspondent Yu. Kirinitsiyanov: "Your Move, Doctor Beng!"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—Each morning at 0700 Chang Yang Beng, American professor and vice chairman of the Economic Council of Experts of the republic, awakening at one of the Alma-Ata rural villas built at one time for the party-state elite, does his exercises and sits down to his writing table—to prepare recommendations for N. Nazarbayev, president of Kazakhstan.

Each morning at exactly 0900 four employees of the Soviet rayon board for trade in food products of Alma-Ata also sit down to their tables, and until dark they stamp ration cards for sugar, butter, soap...

As the local newspaper laconically notes in a report on the joint sitting of the presidium of the city soviet of people's deputies and the bureau of the party gorkom [city party committee], "measures to stabilize the consumer market and to increase control over the distribution of goods have not brought the hoped-for results." What solution have the people's deputies and the members of the bureau of the gorkom found? They have organized the latest "extraordinary commission"...

In short, everyone is doing his job. Dr. Beng, the "stampers" of coupons, and the deputies.

Whom should people rely on? The search for an answer was underway at the first news conference of members of the Supreme Economic Council of the republic—D.

Sembayev, who was previously a member of the Presidential Council of Kazakhstan (now disbanded), American members Chang Yang Beng and A. Leyonkhobud, and G. Yavlinskiy, former deputy chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers and one of the authors of the 500 days program (incidentally, the president himself chairs the council).

In essence "Nazarbayev's team," with which Nazarbayev intends to carry out the transition to a market economy, was presented to the journalists for the first time.

"We would like to publish in the press several versions of our proposals so that the people themselves may decide what suits them best," declared Dr. Beng. For example, "couponization" of the basic means of production of enterprises deserves attention. Each of the laborers or clerical workers receives his share in the form of a coupon depending on the length of his career and his labor contribution. The worker is free to dispose of this coupon as he sees fit: To become a shareholder and co-owner of the enterprise or to sell it and conclude an agreement with the owners.

Of course, it is impossible to carry out an economic revolution in an "individual republic" that is connected to the Union by means of a unified system of pricing and supply and under conditions of legal confusion. But someone must make the first step! So Kazakhstan is stepping out...

G. Yavlinskiy has a high opinion of the reorganization of state structures in the republic and of the efforts of the president of Kazakhstan, who genuinely deserves the reputation of a progressive politician.

In addition, the republic is not preparing to isolate itself. On the contrary! The economic steps of the president of Kazakhstan are reinforced by political steps. A series of negotiations with the Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan were recently concluded with the signing of "horizontal" agreements generally met with a positive response in the society of the republic.

There have already been preliminary results. Reconstruction of the Kryuchkov Alma-Ata factory, producing equipment for consumer enterprises, has already begun with the help of neighbors. Kyrgyzstan plans to sharply increase the output of electrical motors that are in very short supply. Pavlodar and Ashkhabad have coordinated their efforts for the production of glass. The character of relations with other republics has changed as well. Previously Kazakhstan gave wool to the all-Union fund and received fabric and yarn from Ukrainian plants. Now direct deliveries are underway, making production significantly cheaper. In addition, Kazakhstan will contribute capital to the development of these enterprises.

As A. Shalvarov, deputy chairman of Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Gosplan [State Planning Committee], emphasized in our conversation, more than 50 joint programs are planned, and the opportunities for mutually profitable cooperation are practically unlimited.

Something else, to be honest, troubles me. At the "summit" level everything here is in order: There are toasts in honor of inviolable friendship and smiles and handshakes... The leaders of the enterprises are also finding a common language. But "down below" things are not nearly as promising. I have in mind the ruling of the Alma-Ata City Soviet Executive Committee of 31 October 1990 prohibiting Alma-Ata from sending many goods to our "fraternal" republics. Including the Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan. What outrageous scenes are played out at times at the Alma-Ata airport when sweet girls turn into implacable guards of the "state border" in accordance with the dictates of the new-fangled instructions!

...Today's situation in the republic reminds one of an intricate chess game. Of course, Dr. Beng and his team will help to make a decisive move. But it will take all of us—the residents of the republic—to finish the "game."